

हिन्दुसतानी एकेडेमी, पुस्तकालय  
इलाहाबाद

वर्ग संख्या ..... ५०४ : ४६ .....

पुस्तक संख्या ..... Ja/L-4 .....

क्रम संख्या ..... ५१७. १८. २ .....



Jawaharlal Nehru  
Letters to Chief Ministers  
1947-1964

Volume 4  
1954-1957

जवाहरलाल नेहरू  
प्रधानमंत्री के च�ियों  
संग्रह संस्कृति एवं प्रशिक्षण  
कार्यालय  
१९५४-१९५७



Jawaharlal Nehru

Letters to Chief Ministers  
1947-1964

Volume 4  
1954-1957

General Editor  
G. Parthasarathi

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Government of India, 1988

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## PRIME MINISTER

### FOREWORD

The Indian Republic is built on the foundations of liberty and the sovereignty of the people. It believes that all decisions and policies should be actuated by the desire to lighten the burdens of the people and lead them to a higher level of self respect and autonomy. In our system the state does not subscribe to any religious dogma. This grand vision of a nation growing in freedom is a legacy to us of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Our constitution itself is an expression of the democratic spirit that our freedom movement exemplified. Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in drawing millions upon millions of our people into that movement. He did it in spite of the prevalent illiteracy and the fact that in his day the media had no mass reach. The mystery can be explained only by the fact that Gandhiji's incandescent words came out from the depth of truth. The Indian freedom movement became the world's largest democratic movement because of the constant dialogue between the leaders and the people.

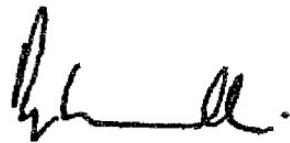
Jawaharlal Nehru shared his master's gift for communication with the people. He knew that a democratic mass movement gained inner strength only when a common set of ideals was shared, through the exercise of reasoned examination, by the largest number of people. It is in order to convince the people of India of the conceptual and practical soundness of his beliefs and courses of action that Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote so copiously and tirelessly. His three great books, the hundreds of articles he wrote and the thousands of speeches he delivered throughout the country to urban audiences or intellectual

Naturally the habit continued when he assumed office. A prime minister, it is said, is the nation's prime persuader Jawaharlal Nehru, as the first Prime Minister, was convinced that the task of building institutions and conventions, so vital in a democracy, demanded that he share with his colleagues his reasons for whatever decisions he took and courses of action he pursued. Change through consent and greater social justice were the theme songs of Panditji's prime ministership. He insisted that right ends should be matched by the right means. He wanted to leaven Indian society with the new ideas of political freedom and social equality. He was impatient to overhaul the judiciary, the civil service and other governmental and social institutions for meeting the demands of the new age. He set about using modern science and technology and the insights of socialism to overcome the problems of poverty. In the international field, he wanted resurgent India to champion the cause of all peoples who had suffered from colonial subjugation. He also wanted the message of non-violence and conciliation to go out to a world divided into rival blocs and threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. He sought the willing involvement of the Indian people in this great adventure. He devoted a great deal of time and thought to the letters he wrote to Chief Ministers once a fortnight expounding his ideas and aspirations.

These fortnightly letters have long been regarded as a basic text in nation-building and in open statecraft. But they had so far not been available to the general public. When the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund approached the Government with a proposal to publish them, the Government readily agreed. These letters reveal a great mind and a large heart at work. But I am sure they will also be a major source of education for everyone who wishes to work for a strong, prosperous and wise India.

New Delhi

November 5, 1985



(RAJIV GANDHI)

# Editorial Note

The fourth volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's Letters to Chief Ministers covers the period from July 1954 to December 1957. By then, a decade after independence, firm foundations had been laid for planned development of the country's economy, constitutional safeguards elaborated and ensured to protect the rights of individuals and workers, the institutional framework for the healthy growth of democracy strengthened and measures taken to raise the status of women.

India's foreign policy also attained during these years a wide measure of recognition. Nehru's visit to China in the autumn of 1954 was followed the next year by the conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung, where Nehru elaborated in detail the principles of non-alignment and helped in securing the acceptance of People's China by the participating governments. While his advocacy of non-alignment and opposition to military alliances and pacts caused some concern in the countries of the West, it was in concert with the prevalent policies of the Soviet Union. On his visit to that country in the summer of 1955, Nehru gained the impression of a new type of society developing which was eager for peace as it had much to safeguard and so much still to do. Nehru conveyed this to the Western Powers and his efforts seemed to help in removing some of the clouds of misunderstanding between the two sides. But the Anglo-French attack on Suez and the crisis of Hungary revealed that the days of colonialism and dominance by the Great Powers were not yet over.

A special event of these years was Nehru's visit to Japan and his note on his general impressions of that country is striking for its sensitive understanding of the Japanese

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people's efforts to climb out of their recent tragic past and rebuild their country on modern lines without losing the best of their traditions.

In domestic policy, the success of the first Five Year Plan had inspired confidence in the attempt to provide a thrust to the economy, so that the broad aims as laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution could be achieved. The Avadi session of the Indian National Congress laid down the objective of a socialistic pattern of society. As usual, Nehru gives much attention to detail in agricultural and industrial development. But the wider context and the deeper issues are never ignored. Even at that time Nehru was aware of the problems of ecology and environment and repeatedly in these letters he drew attention to the need to maintain the balance in nature and the necessity of such measures as afforestation. Emotional integration of the country was still the primary need not only for internal strength, but even for assuming in world affairs the additional responsibilities which fate and circumstance had brought to her. The language problem, the agitations in the wake of the report of the States Reorganization Commission and the growing casteism in various parts of the country showed, to Nehru's dismay, that in spite of the tremendous changes in the world and in India itself many people still adhered to outmoded ways of thought.

The present volume consists of 45 fortnightly letters, 32 special letters and notes on Nehru's visits to China, Soviet Union and Japan and on the Bandung Conference.

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With Emperor Hirohito, Tokyo, 7 October 1957

At the Atom Bomb Memorial Cenotaph, Hiroshima,

9 October 1957

Children's Day, New Delhi, 14 November 1957

# Abbreviations

A I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
b fn.	biographical footnote
C S.I	Companion of the Star of India
C S.O.	Central Statistical Office
E D.C.	European Defence Community
G A.T.T.	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
G C.S.I.	Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India
K C.S.I.	Knight Commander of the Star of India
K M.T.	Kuomintang
M E.D.O.	Middle East Defence Organization
N A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N E.F.A.	North East Frontier Agency
P E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
R S.F.S.R.	Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic
R S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh
S E.A.T.O.	South East Asian Treaty Organization
S G.P.C.	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
S R.C.	States Reorganization Commission
J N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
J N.E.S.C.O.	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
J P S C	Union Public Service Commission

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J P S C	Union Public Service Commission



## I

Dalhousie

5 August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter from Dalhousie, a hill station in East Punjab, not far from the Pakistan border. This is one of the loveliest places I have been in the Himalayas, though it is not so well-known as some others and is not a resort of the fashionable. It has suffered a good deal from the partition, but it is now trying to make good again and, I am glad to say, succeeding in doing so.

2. I have come here on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the founding of Dalhousie,<sup>1</sup> at the invitation of Raizada Hans Raj,<sup>2</sup> the leading and probably the oldest citizen of this mountain resort. He is an old comrade in our struggle for freedom and advanced years sit lightly on him. Approaching 90, he still walks up and down these hills and is a standing testimony to the invigorating climate of Dalhousie.

3. I have come to Dalhousie after 29 years. In the middle twenties, my father and the rest of our family came here and I paid them a visit. We went from here to Chamba by bridle path, passing a place named Khajiar, which is one of the loveliest spots I have seen, and then on to a ledge on the mountain side overlooking the valley of the Ravi, several thousand feet below with the town of Chamba nestling in a plateau by the side of the river. That visit of mine nearly 30

years ago, impressed itself powerfully in my mind and I have carried those mental impressions to this day. One of the reasons for this was the fact that it was in Chamba that we heard the news of Deshbandhu C.R. Das's<sup>3</sup> death. This news put an end to our holiday and my father and I rushed back by mountain path, automobile, and railway train to reach Calcutta.

4. I visited Chamba again on this occasion and was there day before yesterday. A motor road has been built and it took us a few hours to get there, when previously it had taken us two full days, on foot or on horseback. The new road followed the winding Ravi and the changing scene was pleasant enough. Yet I remembered with regret our previous trip when we walked and rode through the dense forests, passing Khajiar lake on the way. It is essential that the interior of these mountains should be opened out by roads and I am pressing for it all the time. But at the back of my mind there is a feeling of sadness at the motor bus or lorry coming, puffing and hooting, and somehow desecrating the virgin forest, and perhaps interfering also in other ways with the charm of this mountain country.

5. This charm is not merely that of the mountains. I have always had a rather special feeling for the Himalayas. Whether this is merely a sentimental attraction, or some half-forgotten memories of far off days, or the invigorating atmosphere which comes from the nearness of snow-covered mountains, I do not know. I like these mountain folk with their song and dance and their evident wish to enjoy themselves in spite of their poverty. You know that we have been encouraging folk dancing and our Republic Day celebrations are gradually becoming a folk dance festival in Delhi. Troupes of folk dancers come from all over India. On the last occasion in January 1954 there were as many as 700 folk dancers and others who came to Delhi for this purpose

The various troupes were judged and the President's prize, a huge shield, went to one of the troupes that came from Himachal Pradesh. This itself showed the excellence of these folk dancers from the Himalayan valleys. As a matter of fact, there are any number of these dancing troupes in the different valleys of Himachal Pradesh. None of them are professionals. They are all amateurs, working in the fields and practising dancing and singing in their leisure hours. Some of them are so difficult of access that they cannot easily come to Delhi.

6. During my present visit to Chamba, I had the privilege of seeing many varieties of Himalayan folk dancing. There were those who had won the trophy at Delhi and many others; some perhaps even better than the champions. These could not travel to Delhi because it was not possible for them to come over the high passes in winter. They live about 80 miles from Chamba, in the Pang Valley, and it takes a full week normally to go there from Chamba. The route goes over a pass of 14,500 ft. This pass can only be crossed for about six or seven months in the year. It was in the Pang Valley last year that owing to food scarcity, we had to arrange for food droppings by air.

7. All these dancers from various parts were clad in beautiful artistic colours. Usually they were handsome with clear-cut features, especially the women, and they were full of grace. They sang as they danced and the songs were of old legend and story, or of the beauties of their mountainside with its flowers and streams, or of the joy and sorrow of love, or of topical happenings. One of the songs indeed was about the aeroplane coming and dropping food for them. I must say that I enjoyed this folk dancing greatly. It was first class in its own way, and even sophisticated to some extent, and yet of the soil and fitting in with the entire environment of mountain and forest and snow and river.

8. I am anxious that these people of the hills should have opportunities of advancement thrown out to them—communications schools hospitals small industries and the like. They are bright and clever and do well when

opportunity comes to them. But a certain fear seizes me, lest these contacts with the more sophisticated people of the plains might not affect them to some extent in the wrong way. I am anxious that they should not lose their innate charm and straight-forwardness, their artistry and their joy in life. I am anxious, above all, that they should not be exploited by the so-called clever people coming from below

9 I came away from Delhi to Chamba and Dalhousie after inaugurating the meetings<sup>4</sup> of the representatives of Canada, India and Poland, the three countries chosen to form the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China.<sup>5</sup> These meetings are going on and others have now arrived in Delhi representing France, Viet Minh and the Associated States, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We have undertaken a heavy and very responsible task in Indo-China. But I was happy to sense a desire to co-operate in the people who are gathering in Delhi. This is a good omen and, though the difficulties facing us are formidable, I think we shall overcome them. It has been decided to send an advance party<sup>6</sup> consisting of representatives of the three member countries of the Commissions to Indo-China. We shall have to follow up by sending a large number of officers, civil and military possibly 150 or so. We may have to appeal to you to lend us the services of some of your officers for this purpose

10. The work to be done in Indo-China is essentially different and, in a sense, less difficult than in Korea. It is less

4. From 1 to 6 August 1954

5. The three international commissions, one each for the three states, with India as chairman, set up under the Geneva agreement signed on 21 July 1954, started functioning on 11 August 1954

6. The advance mission led by S. Dutt during its visit to Phnom Penh and Hanoi between 7 and 22 August 1954 met the representatives of the French South Vietnamese, North Vietnamese (Vietminh), Laotian and Kampuchean Govt. who assured their Govt. of their support and co-operation to the commissions.

difficult because perhaps there is not that background of intense bitterness and hostility which existed in Korea and prevented even a straight talk between the parties. Here, at least, people face each other and talk to each other. There is no question of prisoners here as in Korea. In fact, the Korean argument about choice being given to prisoners to go back or not, has not been raised here. All prisoners will automatically go back to their homelands. The responsibility for maintaining the truce has been cast squarely on the parties concerned. Our Commissions will merely watch and control and supervise. We shall thus not have to send any large number of troops. Possibly, we might have to send some for watch and security duties. They should not exceed some hundreds.

11 While the Indo-China settlements have been recognized almost all over the world as a tremendous step towards peace and, indeed, as a turning point in world affairs since the last World War ended, the situation is none too easy. Only a few days ago, an unfortunate incident<sup>7</sup> in the China seas brought out these passions and hostilities and, for a moment, there was danger of bigger conflicts. That moment passed and there has been a return to relative normality, but this incident itself has shown how explosive the entire situation is.

7 A British plane on a flight from Bangkok to Hong Kong was shot down off Hainan island by a Chinese fighter plane on 23 July 1954. While regretting the incident and agreeing to pay compensation for the loss of life and property, the Chinese Government rejected the U.S. protest of August on the ground that the incident involved no one else except themselves and the British Government.

12. In India, the situation in the French<sup>8</sup> and Portuguese<sup>9</sup> possessions is developing rapidly into a state of acute crisis. There is hope of a settlement in Pondicherry, etc., and the new Prime Minister of France, M. Mendes-France,<sup>10</sup> evidently desires a settlement. He has tackled bravely the Tunisian problem,<sup>11</sup> immediately after his success at Geneva. The news, appearing in the papers, that the French will withdraw from Pondicherry on August 14 is not correct, so far as I am aware. But it is true that M. Mendes-France has sent me a message proposing fresh talks on a new basis, which appears to be satisfactory.<sup>12</sup> These talks may well result in a settlement before long.

13. In the Portuguese possessions, there is little hope of a settlement, and the Portuguese Government is busy with all kinds of warlike arrangements. More troops have been brought and an intense and virulent propaganda against India is being carried on not only in Goa but also in Portugal itself and in Portuguese African possessions.<sup>13</sup>

8. Following the failure of the talks from 14 May to 4 June 1954 between the French and the Indian Governments in Paris on the question of immediate transfer of the effective control and administration of the French possessions to India there were reports of the intensification of acts of suppression by the local authorities in French settlements.

9. On 22 and 29 July, Goan nationalist volunteers set up their administration in Dadra and Nagar-Haveli. The Portuguese Government protested strongly, demanded transit facilities for their troops and claimed the right for their representatives to visit these settlements. On Indian Government's rejecting these protests, the Portuguese Government demanded on 30 July withdrawal of the Indian Consul-General from Goa and of the Vice-Consul at Marmagao. Similar retaliatory action was taken by the Indian Government in respect of the Portuguese consular officials in Bombay.

10. For b. fn. see *Letters to Chief Ministers*, Vol. 3, p. 576.

11. On 31 July, Mendes-France announced "complete internal autonomy" to Tunisia with France retaining responsibility only for Tunisian defence and foreign affairs.

12. The negotiations were resumed in New Delhi on 5 August 1954.

13. There were violent anti-India demonstrations in Lisbon on 25 July, and in Lourenco Marques capital of Portuguese East Africa Mozambique on 30 July 1954.

Meanwhile, some villages in the northern Portuguese area have been taken possession of by Goan volunteers. This does not indicate that the Portuguese are withdrawing. All it means is that they are concentrating their forces in certain areas, especially in Goa. They have made it clear that they will not leave Goa peacefully, and, if they are compelled to leave, they will destroy everything and leave a desert<sup>14</sup> This is a difficult situation for us. It is, of course, not difficult from a military point of view. But we wish to avoid recourse to arms. I am a little worried over these developments lest killing should start as that would complicate the situation greatly. We, as a Government, have thus far proceeded with all caution and even discouraged any aggressive action by volunteers. It may, however, become difficult for us to be quite passive in this situation if the Portuguese start shooting. We are taking other kinds of action, such as permits for people coming into India from Goa and certain economic measures. These economic sanctions will no doubt have a powerful effect on Goa, but that will take some time. Meanwhile, the situation develops with some rapidity.

14. We have had to face again two kinds of disasters. Swarms of locusts have come over Rajasthan, Punjab, Delhi and the U.P. and done much damage. The other and greater disaster is the unprecedented floods in Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and some other places. To some extent, floods have become normal occurrences, but that does not lessen the shock that they give and the harm that they do. This year these floods have been on an even larger scale, more especially in Bihar where the Kosi and the Gandak have played havoc. We must, of course, give all the relief that we can, but the major question is how we can stop them or at least control them. It seems a confession of weakness that we cannot deal with them because of financial or other reasons. Recently, two of our topmost engineers visited China<sup>15</sup> on behalf of our Government to examine for

14. This was stated by the Governor of Diu on 4 August 1954.

15. K.L. Rao and Kanwar Sain were in China from 4 May to 4 July 1954

themselves what had been done there for flood relief. They have come back much impressed by what they saw. China is far less industrialized than India is. They are today almost entirely without big machinery. And yet, with hand labour alone, they have succeeded in creating huge dams and embankments running for hundreds of miles. What is more impressive is that this has been done in record time and apparently at less cost than might have been the case if big machines were used. In one such major work, 1,200,000 people were employed between two harvest seasons and, in the course of 90 days, they completed it. This was so because of very fine organization and the capacity for hard work of the Chinese.

15. Our engineers told us that they were particularly struck by the enthusiasm of the people working on these projects. The Chinese Government took great pains to rouse up this enthusiasm and to make these people feel that they were working for the nation and for themselves. Probably, the wages paid to them were not high. But the Government provided all kinds of amenities for these workers—theatres, music and dancing, club houses and full information about the work that was being done so that they could understand it. They sang while they worked and so the work appeared lighter than it was.

16. Why should we not be able to learn from this example and succeed in getting big works done without relying too much on machinery imported from abroad. There is no harm in getting the machinery and, in some cases, it is obviously necessary. But, situated as we are with our large number of unemployed, it is obviously desirable to use manual labour, unless this is not feasible for some reason or other. The Chinese example has shown that it need not be expensive, if properly organized, and that it need not even take more time. Perhaps our engineers are getting a little too much machine-minded.

17. I think we should revise our ideas and think in terms of rapid and effective action to control some of these floods. This question arises especially in Bihar and Assam. The

August 1954

3

Kosi river has become a curse for vast numbers of people and we have made scheme after scheme to do something about it. We have, I believe, approved of a certain scheme<sup>16</sup> now which does not include at present the building of the big dam near the Nepal border, but which nevertheless can bring a good deal of relief. I think that our engineers should immediately think of undertaking this work, keeping the Chinese example in view and trying to use organized hand labour to the largest possible extent. That will also bring relief to the vast numbers who have suffered during the floods. In Assam also, we have to tackle the problem much more effectively than we have been able to do thus far.

18 Floods have not only descended upon us in India, but they have surprisingly even descended upon Gyantse in Tibet. Apparently these floods came suddenly and with great rapidity and the old fort collapsed<sup>17</sup> bringing death to many of our civil and military personnel there, as well as our Trade Agent.<sup>18</sup>

19 I wrote to you in my last letter about the marked change that has come over the Indian people and the sense of gradual fulfilment that is evident all over the country. I do not wish to exaggerate this, but I have no doubt that there is satisfaction among our people at our achievements. I sit in an office most of the time, but fortunately I move out also among the people and many come to see me. Thus, to some extent, though not adequately, I try to retain the common touch. I have noticed, more particularly, a feeling of satisfaction in regard to three events, and this satisfaction goes right down to the people in the fields and in the market place. There is a sense of exhilaration at the part that India has played in helping to bring peace in the world; there is marked satisfaction at the great progress we have made in

16. The new project aiming at protection against floods replaced the earlier proposal of constructing a multi-purpose 783 ft. high dam at Barakhetra in Nepal.

17. Gyantse fort on the bank of river Namchung was washed away on

17 July 1954

regard to the production of food and the abolition of controls and, in the north especially, Bhakra Nangal has become a symbol of achievement. We must rejoice at this new climate of achievement. Nevertheless, there are many who do not share it because of their own troubles and difficulties. It is difficult for them to imagine that they are sharers in this when they get no benefit from it at all and their present misfortune continues. It is true that we cannot change the face of India suddenly or bring relief to all those who suffer. And yet, we are continually faced with this problem, which in the main may be said to be that of unemployment.

20 There is the land problem and we have taken credit for having done much to put an end to the zamindari and jagirdari systems, even though they continue to some extent still in parts of India. But a doubt creeps into our minds about the progress of this land reform. Undoubtedly, we have done good and a certain type of major intermediary has gone. But, many intermediaries still remain. It has been our long declared policy that all intermediaries should go and the peasant who tills the land himself should become the proprietor of his patch. We have not succeeded in that yet and we find that the laws we have framed have left many loopholes and there is a great deal of evasion. Indeed those laws themselves permit much that we thought we were avoiding. In particular, it comes as a shock to me that numbers of tenants are still being ejected. This is often done, I believe, by land being declared *khudkasht* or reserved for personal cultivation. Many States place no limit to the quantity of land which could be retained as *khudkasht*. The result of all this has been wholesale eviction of tenants. It is a fact that even now people hold many hundreds of acres of land, sometimes even a thousand acres or more. This result has not been what we had looked forward to.

21. Tenants who have been ejected come to me with their tale of woe. What am I to tell them? What answer am I to give? All our achievements in other directions all our plans for the future mean nothing to them if they are driven out of

the land they tilled sometimes for scores of years. Instead of bettering their condition, our new land reforms have actually worsened it. Surely, this is something we cannot accept willingly.

22. The whole policy of land reform, apart from removing the burden on the actual tiller, was to spread the income from land more evenly among the peasantry and thus giving them more purchasing power. In this way, the internal market would expand and the productive forces of the country would grow. We cannot go on increasing our production unless we increase our consumption. We cannot increase our consumption unless there is the wherewithal to buy among large numbers of people. I remember having a talk with the Ford Foundation experts who had come here to advise us about cottage and small industries. Some of these experts told me how exciting the prospect was of having such a vast market as India provided or should provide. Once this wheel of greater purchasing power, greater consumption and greater production got going, there is no limit to it. This applies, of course, not only to land but even more so to industry. It applies especially to small industries which should produce many of the articles needed in our villages.

23. We are making a determined effort to improve our rural population through our community development and national extension service schemes. I have already mentioned to you the progress we are making through these schemes. The progress is, I think, deeper and more widespread than is imagined. But that progress itself requires something more both in regard to land and in regard to the development of small industry. It requires more purchasing power to be thrown to the people by such means as may be at our disposal. Mere technological progress by itself will not help, although it is very necessary.

24. Our land legislation was based on certain theoretical approaches as well as such data as we possessed. That data was wholly inadequate. It became clear that any organized and methodical approach to this problem must now be

based on fuller particulars and data. The Planning Commission proposed, therefore, a census of land holdings.<sup>19</sup> There has been quite extraordinary delay in tackling this urgent problem and I would particularly invite your attention to it

25. There appear to be two developments on the land which have resulted from our legislation and which are obviously producing results which we did not aim at. One is the conversion, in some places, of the old rent-collecting landlord into some kind of a farm operator or a capitalist farmer. Often enough, he continues to be an absentee farmer sometimes engaged in other occupations in cities. But, by some device of having a relative or other connected with the farm, he continues to hold on to it. Another curious development is what is called cooperatives in farms. These so-called cooperatives have nothing to do with the cooperative system. They are really partnerships of some farmers

26. It seems to me that the right aim for us on land must be to make the actual cultivator the owner. Further that a number of cultivators join together for real cooperative purposes both in field work and in subsequent operations. The form of these cooperatives might vary and it is not necessary to be rigid about them. The first process of the removal of all intermediaries and the cultivator becoming the owner will produce a psychological change and will have some definite practical advantages also. The second process of cooperative farming will help in bringing about greater production through advantage being taken of better methods.

27. Whether it is land or industry, we have to face a major problem. Are we definitely aiming at a change in the social climate of the country and do we think of each one of our measures in that context or not? It must be admitted, I think, that the change in the social climate in India has not been very marked in practice, although many of us talk about it. And yet, it is this change that is so necessary to bring about that wider enthusiasm and co-operation, that joining

<sup>19</sup> See *Letters to Chief Ministers* Vol 3 p 479

together for great ends that we aim at. The Planning Commission rightly laid stress on agriculture in the first Five Year Plan. That did not mean that industry was given second place. It meant that a sound agricultural system was the basis for industrial advance.

28. I have referred on several occasions to the growth in our production. I think it would be desirable for us to give more publicity than we have done to the actual figures of production. We have in fact, achieved our national plan targets in regard to food and cloth within three years instead of the five aimed at. Somehow, we fail to take advantage of our own achievements and our critics are constantly shouting about the other side of the picture. Our rice production in 1953-54 has gone up to 27.1 million tons and the wheat production has risen to 7.2 million tons and our other cereals to 21.2 million tons. Thus, our production in 1953-54 of all cereals together has been 3 million tons more than the target fixed for 1955-56. This is something very definitely to be known by our own people and by the world.

29. In regard to cash crops, we produced in 1953-54, 39.1 lakh bales of cotton. This is only 2.3 lakh bales less than the target for 1955-56. In jute, the progress has not been so marked, partly because of Governmental policy. In sugar-cane and groundnut, there have been significant achievements. We have in 1953-54 12 million acres more under cultivation than the target for the fifth year.

30. Cloth is the next important item. We had fixed the target for 1955-56 at 15 yards per capita. We have, in fact, reached in 1953-54 a per capita availability of 14.7 yards, leaving out export figures. The actual figures of textile production are interesting:

	1950
Mills	3,665 million yards
Handloom	636 million yards
	1953
Mills	4,905 million yards
Handloom	1,200 million yards

The increase in handloom production is especially interesting and satisfying.

31. In the community project and national extension service schemes, the following States continue to do well Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Punjab, Orissa, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Bhopal, Coorg, Cutch and the North-East Frontier Agency. The other States functioning tolerably well are Madras, Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh and Assam. The U.P. has done well in patches but is not keeping up the pace. Ajmer, Andhra, Vindhya Pradesh, Travancore-Cochin and Manipur are beginning to move. Mysore, Tripura and Jammu and Kashmir remain static and at the bottom of the list.

32. As our work in the community projects and national extension schemes is technical, the need for technical personnel is becoming more and more important and urgent. It is therefore necessary to have advanced planning in this for the overall needs of each State. Otherwise, all progress will stop.

33. I have written a long letter to you and yet there are many other things in my mind which I should like to share with you. We stand on the threshold of the atomic age. There is little doubt that, given peace in the world, atomic energy is going to revolutionize the world as we know it. This is no distant prospect now. It is quite possible that in the next five years or so atomic energy will be used for power. It is estimated that in another ten or fifteen years, it will be widely used. I need not point out to you what great changes this will lead to.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2

New Delhi  
15 August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this to you on Independence Day, soon after the ceremony at the Red Fort in Delhi. Though our principal national day has been fixed, and rightly so, for January 26, Independence Day on August 15 has a special significance. It was on that day that the great change took place from foreign control to independence; it was that day that marked the triumph of our struggle for freedom. It is right, therefore, that we should remember this day and observe it with some solemnity all over the country.

2 The Delhi celebration, connected intimately with the Red Fort, has a particular significance and every year a vast concourse of people gather below the ramparts of the Red Fort to see the flag of India unfurl there, symbol of our past struggle, symbol of our independence and symbol of the future that we are building and looking forward to. The passing of years has not made this simple ceremony stale or commonplace. There is still a great thrill attached to it.

3 This year, in spite of our manifold problems and difficulties, we met in that historic place with a new vitality and with a sense of achievement and fulfilment. Everyone realizes that the goal we aim at is not near and there are many difficulties and pitfalls on the way. But there is also the realization that we are marching confidently towards that goal. There is a feeling of self-reliance and confidence in our people. Perhaps that feeling is even more in evidence in our countryside and in our innumerable villages than in the cities. It is because this vast countryside of ours is vibrant

today with a new hope that India has this feeling of assurance in her future.

4 There is no question of complacency. In fact, nothing is more misplaced or more dangerous than complacency. When a person is riding a bicycle, he cannot stop or the bicycle topples over. The faster he goes, the straighter will be his path. So in our movement forward, we dare not slacken.

5 On this day, I think more of our internal problems than of international affairs. We are at peace with the world and our relations with other countries are friendly. The two possible exceptions are Pakistan and Portugal. Unfortunately, we cannot get out of that evil heritage which bedevils our relations with Pakistan. We wish it well and indeed a healthy Pakistan is necessary for our own well-being. We have no designs on it. But a conflict of ideals as well as some conflict of interests, in addition to the memory of past conflicts, come in the way of real friendly relations even though I am sure that the people of both countries desire such relations. Some time or other, we shall fulfil that desire. For the present, there is undoubtedly suspicion and distrust. Even in the Independence Day broadcasts of the Governor General<sup>1</sup> and the Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> of Pakistan, there were attacks on India and her policy. This is no occasion for me to deal with them.

6 Then there is the Goa situation which has become rather

1 In his broadcast on 13 August 1954, Ghulam Mohammed said that Pakistan had "several difficulties. We cannot say that an adjoining State has no hand in them." Hoping that the difficulties with India would be tided over, he regretted that so far he had "met with complete disappointment in this regard." For b. fn. on Ghulam Mohammed see Vol 1, p 53

2 Expressing surprise at "the most amazing and militant opposition to the idea" of Pakistan by receiving military aid from the United States Mahomed Ali asserted that Pakistan would "refuse to be guided by the wishes of India" and would not change her "policies to suit India." He blamed India for Pakistan's problems in regard to refugees Kashmir and East Bengal. For b. fn. on Mahomed Ali see Vol 3, p 290

critical lately.<sup>3</sup> There has been an exchange of notes between our Government and the Portuguese Government and you must have seen them.<sup>4</sup> On our part, we have laid the greatest stress on peaceful behaviour and our desire for settlement through negotiation.

7 In regard to the French settlements, there has been a good deal of progress made and there is every hope that this question will be settled in a friendly way between India and France. Owing to internal difficulties in France and the heavy preoccupations of her new Prime Minister, M Mendes-France, we have for the present not issued any statement. This may be delayed. But it is possible that our talks may be renewed soon on a new basis.

8 Our main preoccupation at present is Indo-China, where we have undertaken a very heavy task which will strain us to the utmost. This task is of wider significance and more complicated than the one in Korea. At the same time it is a less difficult one. In Korea, there was a total absence of the cooperative spirit between the parties and we, as neutrals, were buffeted about by them. You will remember that ultimately there was no agreement about several important matters and we could do nothing to bring about agreement. In Indo-China, there is undoubtedly a desire on the part of every country concerned to co-operate and find a way out peacefully. That is a tremendous gain. This was

3. In a bid to thwart the proposed peaceful 'march on Goa' on 15 August by the Goan nationalists, the Portuguese authorities took several measures on 7 August 1954. These included closure of a part of the Indian border, ban on entry of Indian and foreign newspapers, expulsion from Goa of 4000 Indian residents who did not possess residence permits and declaration of a state of siege. See also, *ante*, p. 6.

4. In reply to the Portuguese protest notes of 24 and 26 July 1954, the Indian Government on 28 July denied the presence of the Indian Army on the borders of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli and refused permission for movement of Portuguese armed forces and police. On 8 August, the Portuguese proposed the supervision of frontiers by an international team of neutral observers and the Indian Government accepted this two-day later with some reservations. On 13 August the Portuguese Government asked India to state her objections.

evident enough in the little conference we had early this month in Delhi.<sup>5</sup> The members of the International Supervisory Commission, Canada, India and Poland, met here and discussed matters in a spirit of full co-operation. They met also representatives of the warring parties in Indo China namely, France, Vietminh, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The approach of all these countries was friendly and co-operative, in spite of their past conflicts and present differences. It is for this reason that I say that the Indo-China task is both complicated and easy, compared to Korea.

9 Our advance party was sent to Indo-China under the leadership of Shri S. Dutt,<sup>6</sup> our Commonwealth Secretary. We have had reports from him to indicate both the difficulties and the common desire to overcome them. The Supervisory Commission was invited to meet Dr. Ho Chi Minh,<sup>7</sup> the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh). Shri Dutt was greatly impressed by Dr. Ho Chi Minh as a leader and a man.

10 So much for foreign affairs. But, as I have said above, my mind today is full of India and, more particularly, of our constructive and developmental activities in this country. More and more I feel that the pace of these activities must increase. That can only be done by the closest co-operation between governmental agencies and the public and the public having a sense of partnership and a feeling of enthusiasm in this great task of building up the new India I referred in my last letter, I think, to the visit of two of our leading engineers to China recently. They saw the great river projects which had been constructed in China and were greatly impressed by them. China lacked machinery and these huge tasks were undertaken and completed practically

5. See *ante*, p. 4

6 (b. 1905). Joined Indian Civil Service, 1928; Commonwealth Secretary, 1947-52; Ambassador to West Germany, 1952-54; Foreign Secretary, 1954-61; Ambassador to Soviet Union, 1961-62 and to Bangladesh 1972-74

7 For b fn see Vol 2 p 7

by manual labour alone in record time. That is a great lesson for us and I hope we shall profit by it.

11. Shri Kanwar Sain,<sup>8</sup> who went to China and saw these projects, has told us of the enthusiasm of the people working there. They were singing at their work and were encouraged to do so. While their daily wage might not have been much, the amenities provided for them were considerable and every effort was made for them to understand what they were doing and the benefits that would accrue to them from it. Thus they felt as if they were working for themselves and their own advancement and not merely for some Government which paid them a wage. There was also the organizational aspect which was very effective. Vast numbers of people were made to work together in a smooth way and the speed of their work exceeded the normal work which might have been done by big machinery.

12. We have had recently vast and unprecedented floods in a great part of our country. They have caused tremendous damage and suffering and immediate relief has to be given. But the major question before us is how to deal with the prevention of these devastating floods in future. It is here that we might profit by the Chinese example. They have river valley commissions which deal not with a particular project but with a broad planned scheme for the whole or a large part of the river valley. I think we should also think in these terms, more especially in Bihar and Assam. Indeed, to some extent, we did that in this way in Bihar and a special organization<sup>9</sup> was built up for this purpose. But this organization has apparently not made any great progress thus far. We shall have to speed this up.

13. It has seemed to me that we have not paid enough attention to the provision of what might be broadly called amenities for our workers. They are really much more

<sup>8</sup> (1898-1988). Member, Central Water and Power Commission, 1949-53 and Chairman, 1953-58, Chairman and Administrator, Rajasthan Canal Project, 1958-61, Chairman, Haryana Review Development Board, 1969-72

<sup>9</sup> An advisory committee for the Kosi project was set up in 1950

helpful both from the practical and psychological points of view than some increase in wages and probably they cost less. With these amenities and social services, provided for community living and entertainment, the whole status and outlook of the worker changes and his effectiveness at work increases. He becomes not merely a hard worker, but a colleague and a partner in an undertaking. We talk of industrial peace and we make laws and regulations for it. Those laws are no doubt necessary. But the essential thing in this, as in other matters, is the human relationships that we build up. In effect, it is our social outlook that counts. If it is a social outlook of superior and inferior, of definite class barriers, then inevitably we have the sense of social conflict.

14. It is true that in our present social set-up there are these big differences and barriers. We say that we shall remove them, but the process is slow. At least, we can minimize them psychologically and otherwise by these community centres for workers where they can feel that those barriers do not exist. Thus we can provide them not only with better housing, which is so essential, but also with decent clubs, rest houses, sanatoria, games, libraries, reading rooms, places for entertainment, etc.

15. Yesterday I met the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Dr. J.C. Ghosh.<sup>10</sup> You may have seen or read about a recent report of a survey of undergraduate life in Calcutta. This is a revealing and rather painful document showing how a large number of undergraduates live in Calcutta. They have practically nowhere to go to. The classrooms are terribly crowded and for the rest they wander about in the streets. Surely no education can be profitable in these surroundings. The problem is a big one, but one immediate step towards ameliorating it was suggested by the Vice-Chancellor. This was to have some kind of student homes, each one catering for 500 or more students. These

<sup>10</sup> (1893-1959). Professor of Chemistry at Calcutta and Dacca Universities 1915-39. VI for Calcutta University 1954-55 Member Planning Commission 1955-59

homes not to be residential, but places where students could spend the day in proper and healthy surroundings, read books, newspapers and periodicals at ease, have healthy and cheap food from canteens, have some entertainment and lectures and games and bathing places, etc. Such a club would at least provide a decent resting and study place to the students. I think the idea is a very good one not only for Calcutta but for elsewhere also and should be pursued.

16 The building up of new India has always seemed to me not merely a question of improving agriculture, industry, etc., important as that is. The social, economic and the community aspect of it is equally important. In fact, we cannot go ahead on the economic plane without changing some of our social background and breaking through some of our restrictive social customs. Caste, of course, is one of the major hurdles that have to go. It is separatist, destructive and it perpetuates inequality, apart from the other social evils that it leads to in the case of Harijans and the backward classes. The position of women is important. We cannot go ahead if women do not play a full part in national progress. In fact, we cannot build up the unity of India unless there is this emotional awareness of not only political, but economic and social equality. When we talk about a secular State, this does not simply mean some negative idea, but a positive approach on the basis of equality of opportunity for everyone, man or woman, of any religion or caste, in every part of India.

17 While we work for this, I am particularly concerned about our children and young people, for they represent the India of tomorrow. I am greatly distressed to see them uncared for or not properly cared for, and growing up with an almost total lack of opportunity. I think that we should especially concentrate on these children from the earliest age. It is a mighty task but, unless we do this, we do not lay the foundations of tomorrow properly.

18 I have been reading a report on the reasons for delays in the execution of our river valley projects. Various factors are mentioned the first is the lack of proper planning at th

beginning. We have sometimes started on a project without full investigation in detail, with the result that changes are frequently taking place in design and otherwise and upset both our estimates and our work.

19 The second reason for delay has been the cumbrous procedure for the acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act. Some way has to be found to get over this difficulty, for this delay is very expensive. Indeed, it must always be remembered that delay in a major project, which is costing us vast sums of money, is more financially harmful to us than almost anything. Where we are spending at the rate of lakhs of rupees a day, every day's delay means that much loss. We do not adequately realize this, sitting in our offices and allowing matters to remain undisposed of for some time.

20 This leads us to the third reason for delay, that is, sometimes delay in sanctions and in permission being given for even relatively small things. An argument goes on about the purchase of some stores. Meanwhile, work stops or is delayed. This excessive centralization of authority comes in the way of both effectiveness and speed. It also comes in the way of the procurement of machinery and spare parts.

21 Then there is the delay caused by our old rules for recruitment through the employment exchanges and the U P S C. The U P.S.C. is an essential organization, but it was not originally thought of in terms of these big engineering and like projects and its rules are not very applicable to them.

22 These are some of the major reasons for delay and we should try to avoid them and lay down a procedure which, while providing full checks and scrutiny, avoids too much centralization and delay.

23 There are two other aspects of these projects which sometimes are not fully borne in mind. There should be no time-lag between the completion of a project and the utilization of the benefits flowing from it. Every such time lag is utter waste. Therefore while the project is taking

shape, full thought should be given to other aspects, such as if electric power is being created, provision for its use

24 The second aspect, which has to be thought of right from the beginning, is the social aspect of developing that area. It was this that was stressed by the Tennessee Valley Authority and which has changed the whole of that area under the T.V.A. We are apt to ignore this aspect and think only of the project by itself, not realizing that the project is meant to supply human needs and it should begin by improving the quality of the human beings round about and the opportunities available to them for progress.

25 If we have to go ahead with public works, as we should, housing and roads are always there for us to take in hand. Both are important. The housing problem in India is acute. Indeed, it is acute in most parts of the world. In Delhi a large number of houses have been and are being built. Many of them are on behalf of Government. Indeed, one of the notable changes that has taken place in housing policy all over the world is the great increase in governmental or municipal building compared to private building. Private enterprise in this respect has been losing ground everywhere. In our larger cities, a good deal of private capital is being used for the purchase and sale of land, chiefly for speculative purposes. In Delhi this speculation in land has grown greatly. Not many houses have been built and even most of these people are just not interested in building or in laying down these services. They are merely interested in making money by re-sale of land. They buy land cheaply from agriculturists, parcel it out into small plots and sell it back to land-hungry townsmen without even developing it.

26 This is obviously undesirable. In other countries special laws have been made to prevent this happening and we should follow their example.

27 The Government policy in regard to land is to sell it to the highest bidder and thus make a profit out of it. Not much thought is given to the social side. I think this is an entirely wrong approach and this way of selling Government land to the highest bidder cannot form part of any s ~~xia~~

scheme for housing. The result has been high land values for private land, increasing speculation and fantastic rents. The average man is simply nowhere in the picture.

28. Our municipal authorities have sometimes interested themselves in building houses for the people but not enough. The development of land and building should be undertaken normally by the same authority and this should usually be a municipality or a cooperative organization. In regard to slum clearance, we have to face a heavy cost of acquiring not only the land, but the wretched slum itself. In England, I am told, the law does not allow any compensation for the slum structure. It is a slum, it is the business of the slum-owner to clear it at his own cost. We should also have some similar law. Some of the slums in India are a disgrace to any kind of community.

29. Housing should be considered, therefore, as a social problem in which the State or the municipality is intimately interested. Certainly let us encourage private building, provided it fits in with that social policy. In particular, we should encourage cooperative efforts, and insurance companies and banks might well help in this process.

30. You must have seen today the so-called honours list. Three very eminent countrymen of ours have become the first Bharat Ratnas.<sup>11</sup> We can give no higher honour to anybody. The other list is that of Padma Vibhushan.<sup>12</sup> This is the first list of the kind and most of us are not used to appreciate its significance. These are, of course, not titles and cannot be used as titles. But, merely for purposes of comparison, I might say that Padma Vibhushan—*pahla varg* may be said to correspond to a G.C.S.I. of the old order, *dusra varg* would correspond, in the same way, to a K.C.S.I. or a knighthood; and *tisra varg* to a C.S.I.

31. You will observe that these lists have honoured not servicemen as such, but rather distinguished people in

<sup>11</sup> S Radhakrishnan C V Raman and C Rajagopalachari

<sup>12</sup> There were 42 recipients of Padma Vibhushan

ng, medicine, in art, literature and social  
ates the way India looks today. We honour  
he developmental activities of the nation  
le to honour them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 3

New Delhi  
28 August, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

In my fortnightly letters, I have been sending you an overall survey of the internal and international situation, but today I propose to write to you on a specific subject of great importance to the country. You are aware of the unrest and turbulence which has characterized students' activities in different parts of the country in recent years. Sometimes there have been ugly manifestations of indiscipline as in the clash at Lucknow last year or at Indore only a few weeks ago. Very often the violence of the outburst is out of all proportion to its alleged cause. I have been thinking over this matter and I am convinced that the future of the country demands that early measures must be taken to improve standards of education and discipline among students.

2. The Cabinet has recently considered carefully detailed proposals for improving the standards of education and discipline of students.<sup>1</sup> Some of these proposals have financial implications and the Cabinet was of the view that these should be considered only after we have taken a decision on the report of the Taxation Enquiry Commission.<sup>2</sup> There are however some other measures,

\*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. The Central Advisory Board of Education had sent in December 1953 a memorandum analyzing the causes of student unrest and suggesting measures for its mitigation for consideration by the Government along with its own proposals.

2. The Commission was appointed on 1 April 1953 with John Matthai as the Chairman to enquire into the tax structure in relation to public uses and expenditure. It submitted its report on 30 November 1954.

mainly non-financial in character, which can be taken in hand immediately and will go a long way in improving the situation. I would therefore request you to consider these measures and take necessary action to see that they are implemented as early as possible.

3 I would, in particular, draw your attention to the following proposals:

(i) Indiscipline among students, the fall in standards and the general deterioration in universities is largely due to the loss of leadership of teachers and the party factions and political intrigues which disfigure academic life. The appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is sometimes made on any but academic grounds. Our Cabinet is of opinion that legislation should be undertaken to amend the University Acts in order to reconstitute Senates and Syndicates on the lines of the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission.<sup>3</sup> It is particularly important to ensure that the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is taken outside the sphere of party politics.<sup>4</sup> I would commend to your notice the mode of appointment in vogue in Delhi University as this avoids most of the drawbacks associated with election or nomination.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Similarly, intrigues and party factions in managing committees are a major factor in the deterioration of school discipline. I have asked the Ministry of Education to frame

3 The University Education Commission (1948-1949) recommended that the university bodies should have representatives from both the academic and non-academic fields and there should be frequent change in the membership of these bodies. It also recommended a maximum of 120 members for the Senates and of 25 members for the Syndicates.

4 The Commission recommended that the Vice-Chancellor who was the "keeper of the University conscience" should not be elected by the Senate or the Court, but should be appointed by the Chancellor on the recommendation of the Executive Council.

5 Under this system, a selection committee, comprising two distinguished educationists nominated by the Syndicate or the Executive Council of the University, and a nominee of the Visitor, suggested a panel of not more than three names out of which one was appointed by the Vice-Chancellor or by the Government.

specific proposals for the reconstitution of school managing committees in a manner which would minimize, if not eliminate altogether, political and group influence. I hope you will kindly issue instructions that these when received from the Ministry of Education are carefully examined and given effect to.<sup>6</sup>

(iii) I am sure you will agree that we must take special measures for increasing public esteem for teachers at different levels. I would suggest that you may associate teachers and their organizations to a greater extent in the formulation of educational policy and see that the social status of teachers is improved by giving them adequate recognition at all State and other public functions.

(iv) Another major reason for student unrest and fall in standards is the undue importance given to the final examination. Students are able to neglect their work throughout the year and cram in the last few months in order to pass and or get a degree. I would suggest that you might issue instructions for the reconstruction of the system of examination so that adequate importance is given to regular class work in the assessment of the final achievement of the pupil. We might, for the present, confine these changes to internal examinations held by schools and colleges. So far as university examinations are concerned, the matter should be examined further and suitable ways and means devised to improve them.

(v) Measures to encourage self-discipline among students must also be adopted immediately. I would suggest for your consideration the introduction of the house system, so that the students may develop a strong group loyalty and come into closer contact with selected teachers. I would also suggest that councils of monitors and juvenile courts of honours may be instituted in all colleges and schools.

6. In its letter of 28 September 1954 to State Education Ministers, the Ministry of Education suggested that the managing committees of schools should not be elected but include representatives of the donors, the guardians, and the teachers along with the nominees of the Board of Education.

(vi) It is not necessary today to emphasize the value of social activities in shaping the character of students. I hope you will issue instructions so that special emphasis is laid on the improvement of material and social amenities in school and college life through voluntary labour contributed by the pupils themselves. One great handicap from which students, particularly in urban areas, suffer is the lack of adequate physical amenities in educational institutions. If playgrounds, common rooms, open-air theatres, swimming pools or gardens could be built or enlarged through student labour this would improve schools and colleges in many ways.

(vii) The value of extra-curricular activities is recognized on all hands, but sufficient measures are not taken to ensure that there is adequate provision for such activities. I would suggest that you may issue instructions for encouraging various types of extra-curricular activities, specially in high schools and higher secondary schools and universities.

(viii) You will also agree that our education at present is sometimes lacking in a moral or ethical tone. India is a secular State, but this does not imply any disregard for moral values. We have a very rich spiritual heritage but the younger generation are sometimes insufficiently aware of this. I would suggest that an attempt should be made and ways and means devised to introduce an ethical content in instruction imparted in schools and colleges without reference to any particular religion.

4 I am asking the Ministry of Education to send to your Government more detailed proposals on each of these items,<sup>7</sup> but I thought I should write to you personally as this

<sup>7</sup> Eleven detailed letters on these points were circulated by the Ministry of Education from 28 September 1954 to 13 February 1956. See *Letter on Discipline by H. Yun Kabir* (Ministry of Education 1956).

is a matter on which I feel strongly. I am sure you will take all necessary measures to ensure that our young men and women receive the best possible training to make them citizens worthy of our traditions and our hopes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 4

New Delhi  
3 September, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, Parliament has begun another session and has already done considerable work<sup>1</sup> There have been statements and debates on foreign affairs<sup>2</sup> to which I would draw your particular attention. An important Bill has been passed dealing with food adulteration,<sup>3</sup> and the Special Marriage Bill<sup>4</sup> is now before the House. This Bill is one of several dealing with social reform. This particular Bill is not confined to any one community. The others will deal particularly with certain aspects of Hindu Law.

2 As you know, we attach great importance to these social reforms and Hindu Law measures. Unfortunately, they have been held up for a long time past and it is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me that we are now moving at last. The progress of a nation can only take place on all fronts, political, social and economic. We have laid stress on

1. On 17 August 1954

2. Speaking on foreign policy in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 25 and 26 August 1954 respectively, Nehru asserted the Goan people's right to 'free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland' He said that at the Geneva Conference "not one of the belligerents, but peace had been the victor," and criticized the SEATO plan and the claim of the Western countries to decide the fate of Asia.

3. The Prevention of Food Adulteration Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 26 August, came into force with effect from 29 September 1954 It replaced all local laws, and laid down uniform provisions for the prevention of adulteration of foodstuffs

4. The Special Marriage Bill provided for marriage by registration, laid down the minimum age at the time of marriage, and provided for nullity of marriage and divorce by mutual consent.

the political aspect in the past and are now thinking more and more of the economic aspect. But the social aspect is at least as important. Indeed, the economic aspect cannot go far without adequate measures of social reform. I am glad also that we have had a Bill<sup>5</sup> relating to untouchability.

3 The tremendous floods in Assam, Bihar and parts of U P, and West Bengal have produced a very serious situation in these vast areas. This is serious enough in the present as millions of people require relief and assistance. But an even more important aspect of this is prevention in the future. It is no easy matter to deal with these effectively, though much can be done. Our mighty mountain barrier, the Himalayas, have their great advantage for us and they are woven in our country's story and legend. But sometimes they have their terrible aspect also as in the case of floods and earthquakes. This is a test for our nation. From all accounts, the people concerned in these flooded areas have behaved splendidly. In spite of the disasters they have had to face, they have not lost their morale and are prepared to face these with determination. It is up to all of us, however, to help them and I would draw your particular attention to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund in this connection. I am paying a brief visit to these areas soon.

4 The decision of the Government of India in regard to the Appellate Bank Tribunal's award has met with much criticism.<sup>6</sup> I would invite your attention to the speeches

5. The Untouchability (Offence) Bill stipulated the imposition of disabilities arising from practice of untouchability as a punishable offence. The Bill was welcomed by all sections in the Lok Sabha when it was debated on 27 and 30 August and then referred to the Joint Select Committee.

6. On 17 August, the Government while accepting the new pay-scales for bank employees, as recommended by the Appellate Tribunal, varied the formula for payment of dearness allowance and exempted banks in smaller towns from its application. This measure was criticized by the trade unions and members of the Opposition.

delivered by the Finance Minister<sup>7</sup> and by me<sup>8</sup> in Parliament on this subject. I can well appreciate the strength of some of the arguments used in criticism and the general labour reaction. But, nevertheless, I feel that this does not take into consideration many of the facts that we have to face. It was not without a great deal of discussion and much painful thought that we came to our decision. That decision can by no means be called a final decision settling this matter for a long time. We have clearly said that we shall go into this question thoroughly again in the course of the year and take such steps to change it as we might consider necessary. The award is after all only for a year and we have made it clear that during this year there is going to be no reduction of the present payments to the employees of banks. Therefore, in effect, there appears to be little reason for this heavy criticism.

5. I suppose this criticism is due not so much to what we have done but to some kind of suspicion as to what Government might have in mind. I regret this very much. It is important that we carry large sections of the community with us and more particularly labour which plays a vital part in the nation's economy. Opinions may occasionally differ about a certain matter, but there must be a basis of confidence and faith. If that is lacking, then the best of arguments fail.

6. I realize that these questions have not only a practical aspect but a psychological one. If we do not win on the psychological front, then we have failed, however much we may be able to convince ourselves about the rightness of our

7 On 30 August 1954, C.D. Deshmukh stated in the Lok Sabha that the Government's decision to modify the Award had been "in public interest and to ensure social justice", as otherwise it would have led to closure of a large number of banks. For b. fn. on C D. Deshmukh, see Vol. 1, p. 484.

8 In the Rajya Sabha on 2 September 1954, Nehru said that the Government had modified the Bank Award because they did not have full facts and were afraid to take any decision which would have adversely affected the working of banks and general credit. He assured the bank employees of a sq deal.

action. We have always to deal with labour in a spirit of perfect frankness as well as equality. If we carry in our minds some relic of old ideas about the working classes being some kind of inferior grade citizens, who trouble us from time to time, then we are bound to produce adverse reactions. Unfortunately, our social structure is still far too uneven and there are too many differences between those at the top and those below. When we discuss the salaries of bank employees, it does come as a shock that the Presidents and Chairmen of Banks are paid very large salaries. It is very difficult to justify reductions of the lower paid staff when the people at the top continue to get themselves large salaries. It is true that by reducing some of the top salaries, we shall not make much difference to others in financial terms. But psychologically that would produce a great effect. So long as there is not a feeling of a burden being equally shared, there will be discontent and a lack of that enthusiasm which is so essential for rapid and effective work.

7 How are we to get rid of this class consciousness which introduces itself in every step in our lives? Probably it is more obvious in the city of Delhi with all its gradations of status and class than elsewhere. If we could succeed in this matter, more than half our battle would be won.

8 I have written to you previously about communal troubles and conflicts. There have been a number of such incidents recently in Hyderabad<sup>9</sup> and in U.P.,<sup>10</sup> and I have been deeply pained by them. The incident by itself might not have been big or important. But the mere fact of such incidents occurring indicates our inner weakness and backwardness. It does little good to blame anyone for it. From the very nature of these incidents, or most of them, it is obvious that some mischief-makers are about. The distressing part is that large numbers of people are misled and get excited and misbehave. There is hardly a country in the

9. At Nizamabad on 15 August and at Gulbarga on 27 August following hoisting of Pakistani flags.

10. Or 22 August at Mathura and Aligarh

world where these religious conflicts occur and it is a matter of shame for us that we still live in this climate of religious intolerance and conflicts in spite of our proud boasts to the contrary. I would draw your attention to these matters because they strike at the very root of national unity and progress.

9 I shall not write to you much on the subject of foreign affairs because I have dealt with these in my recent speeches in the two Houses of Parliament. World affairs become more and more intricate and inevitably we get more and more entangled in them. It may be some consolation that the prestige of India is high and that large numbers of people in all parts of the world look up to India as a nation working for peace for which they crave. But this prestige brings its responsibilities and burdens. Indo-China is a heavy burden to us and we have to remember all the time that the settlement of Geneva is no final settlement. The whole of the Far East of Asia as well as the South East remain in a explosive condition and it is always possible for some ill turn to unleash all kinds of disasters. So, we have to be careful and to watch every step that we take.

10 Politics, more especially international affairs, no longer consist of making brave declarations, but of having a clear idea of intricate and developing situations and then trying to make the best of them. It is true that we must always keep our basic principles in mind because, without them, we shall have no anchor. We cannot function on a purely opportunist basis which is bad not only from a moral but a practical point of view. But, keeping those principles in view, we have to adjust our activities as well as our statements to the particular situation. Our influence thus far is largely due to our good fortune in taking right steps at the right time. Not to do so would be failure. To go beyond the necessities of the situation would be adventurism, also leading to failure. We have, therefore, to balance all this every day and at every step.

'1 Goa is an instance where our feelings are roused and our national interests demand action. The Portuguese

Government often address us offensively and produce strong reactions in us.<sup>11</sup> But we cannot act on the basis of sudden reactions or of emotional behavior. We have to take not only the right steps, but also in the right way. We have also to keep in view our general world policy because we cannot isolate one action from another. I have no doubt that we shall win in Goa. But I am anxious to do so without giving up in the slightest the basic policy that we claim to pursue. That policy is likely to yield satisfactory results before long in Pondicherry. In Goa it might take a somewhat longer period, but the result will be the same.

12. Within a few days, the so-called South East Asian Conference will be held at Baguio in the Philippines.<sup>12</sup> We have kept away from it<sup>13</sup> and we have expressed ourselves clearly against it. So have Indonesia and Burma. The South East Asian Conference thus is really and principally a European and American Conference without much of Asia in it. And yet, the problems they deal with will be Asian. A remarkable feature of this Conference is that some countries are not only anxious to protect themselves against possible aggression, but also lay claim to protect other countries, even though the others do not ask for such protection. This approach is perilously near to the old spheres of influence.

13. You may remember that an essential part of the Geneva decisions was to keep the Indo-China countries, namely, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as neutral States unaligned to the power groups. Any attempts to tie them up with one group inevitably produces reactions in the other group and tension increases. The question is how far we can extend

11. On 30 August 1954, the Portuguese Foreign Minister accused India of acting as an "accomplice" of the Goan nationalists and said that "the same expediency and narrowness" had preceded "the violent occupation of Hyderabad."

12. The venue of the conference was changed to Manila and it was held from 6 to 8 September 1954.

13. Nehru said on 23 August 1954 "we have expressed our inability to participate in this meeting because ... to us that it is likely to reverse the trend of conciliation re eased by the Indo-China settl ... L

what we have called the area of peace in Asia, that is, the area of countries which are not aligned to the power groups. A new phrase has come into existence, the South East Asia pattern of countries, meaning countries which are not aligned to these power groups and intend to pursue independent policies in favour of peace. This conception again is tied up with the idea of co-existence of countries having different political and economic structures. There is really no alternative to co-existence except, as I said in Parliament, co-destruction. This is not a happy one, but it does convey what we have in mind.

14. This idea of co-existence is being appreciated and more, but there are strong forces still opposed to it, and I fear the Baguio Conference is encouraging these forces.

15. The E.D.C. or the European Defence Community,<sup>14</sup> has suffered a severe shock by the refusal of France to join it.<sup>15</sup> That has upset all the carefully laid plans of the last few years and it is not quite clear what this will lead to. The situation is fluid all over the world, both in Asia and Europe. One of the principal factors that prevents a settling down is the American elections which are going to be held in November.<sup>16</sup> Because of these elections, the U.S. Government cannot adopt a clear policy, and because of the great importance of the U.S., this affects the policies of other countries.

16. It is likely that I shall go to China on a brief visit in the second half of October.<sup>17</sup> I have been repeatedly invited to go

14. See Vol. 2, pp. 539-540.

15. On 30 August 1954, the French National Assembly rejected ratification of the treaty by which a European Army including German divisions was to be raised.

16. Elections were held on 2 November 1954 for the House of Representatives and Governorships of 34 States and for over one-third membership of the Senate.

17. From 18 October to 2 November 1954

there during the past year and a half. Ultimately, I promised to go if there was a settlement at Geneva. So, now I have to keep that promise. I shall, of course, gladly go there because the new China is one of the vital places in the world today. For us in India it is of special importance.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 5

New Delhi  
3 September, 1954

Mv dear Chief Minister,\*

I have written to you about the communal disturbances that have taken place in some parts of India. There are certain rather odd features about these disturbances. On several occasions these disturbances took place rather unexpectedly and there was no obvious tension previously. The technique also appears to be different.

2 We must take some care to find out how and why each one of these conflicts occurred. It is not good enough to treat them in the old way. I rather doubt if police reports about them are very satisfactory. The enquiry has to be conducted by really high class men, whether police or other, and not by the normal type of junior police officer.

3 It is true that there are some Muslims in some centres who might be prone to mischief. There are one or two Muslim organizations that have been carrying on objectionable activities. I do not think there are many Muslims connected with these organizations, but they exert a bad influence. Generally speaking, the Muslims do not and cannot think of any deliberate aggressive activity. Both by virtue of their numbers and their general position in the country, they are frustrated and weak and they know well that any aggression on their part will lead to their own suffering.

4 The other side of the picture is different. The Hindu communal organizations are definitely aggressive and they can play on the religious or other feelings of the majority

mmunity. There is also a new motive which, previous to the partition, was not present. This is the lure of property. In the pre-partition days, whatever communal trouble took place, no one ever thought of driving out the other party from their houses or shops. No one ever thought of profiting by any such action. Now this new element has come in and it is thought that if the Muslims in a particular area are frightened and made to leave, that property would naturally come to the Hindus, more especially of course the refugees. Even if it does not go directly to them, it might go into the refugee pool.

Thus, this new and dangerous incentive comes into play. Of course this applies chiefly to the refugees. Indeed, much of the trouble is caused or, at any rate, begun by the refugees.

Agitations like the anti-cow slaughter are also used for this purpose. I have no doubt that many people who participate in this agitation are influenced by political or caste motives and not so much by religious ones. The R.S.S. utilizes this for its own purposes.

Thus, generally speaking, it may be presumed that the aggression comes from the Hindus or the Sikhs in some cases. Even if an individual Muslim misbehaves, the real aggression comes from the majority community and that silly misbehaviour is made the excuse for such aggression.

There are two other aspects to which I would like to draw your attention. We have sometimes received information about Pakistani spies coming here to create trouble. It is difficult to have positive evidence of this, but there is something inherently unlikely about this and indeed some evidence points that way at some places.

The other aspect is of some foreigners (non-Pakistanis), interested in weakening our position, encouraging such misfits. Again, we have no positive evidence, but there is some circumstantial evidence to this effect. In particular, money seems to be paid.

Even in Nepal this foreign money has been much in

With Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Phnom Penh, 31 October 1954





evidence behind the anti-India agitations. It would not be surprising if this was used in India also. We have had some kind of evidence from time to time also about the encouragement given by foreigners to Hindu communal organizations in various ways.

11. All these factors have to be borne in mind and it has to be realized that we are dealing with a new phase of an old problem. We have, therefore, to apply new methods or at least vary our old methods. The first thing is to be wide awake and never allow a situation to deteriorate before taking action. The second thing is to make it clear that the community that takes to aggression will suffer. I believe that this practice was adopted in the past in some States with very good results. As far as I remember, Bombay State took action on these lines some years ago when communal trouble took place. The offending community was fined and compensation was given to the suffering party. Bombay State has been free from communal trouble for several years, although Bombay city has plenty of mischievous elements.

12. I would commend to you to consider some such procedure.

13. It would be desirable to make it known in various ways to the public that mischief-makers or foreign nationals are behind these anti-national and anti-social activities just to weaken our country through strife. We must be warned not to fall into their trap as we do when people get excited and take the law into their own hands. If this point of view begins to be widely appreciated by the public, the mischief-makers will fail.

14. I am writing this to share my thoughts with you and to make you appreciate this new phase of this troublesome problem. This requires new thinking and new action and, above all, quick action.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6

New Delhi  
15 September, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a brief visit to the flood-affected areas in the U.P., Bihar, North Bengal and Assam.<sup>1</sup> Much has been said and written about these floods and therefore I do not propose to say much here. But I would like to draw your attention to some aspects. The first, of course, is the need for adequate relief to those who have suffered. Millions of people are involved and we must make every effort to help them as fully as we can. While the floods in most places are subsiding, the Brahmaputra has not lost its fury and is slowly eating up parts of Dibrugarh town.

2. We have formed a Central Board for the prevention of floods<sup>2</sup> and also two River Valley Commissions,<sup>3</sup> one for the Ganga and the other for Brahmaputra. These will be permanent organizations and I hope they will tackle these problems both from the short-term and the long-term points of view. Many people criticize us for delay in dealing with these problems. The criticism may be justified here and there, but I doubt if the critics realized the nature of the problems. The floods this year were not due to local rain but something that happened in the higher mountain valleys. The result was a tremendous rush of water from numerous

1. From 4 to 6 September 1954

2. It was set up on 8 September 1954 to draw up a programme for flood control, including detailed investigation and preparation of specific schemes in various States.

3. The Central Flood Control Board decided on 15 September 1954 to set up two committees to prepare an integrated programme for control of floods and development of the two river basins.

tributaries of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. In the Ganga, many of these rivers come down from Nepal and the distance between the mountains and the Ganga is not great. In Assam, the distance is often even less between the Brahmaputra and the mountains. We have little knowledge of the upper reaches of these tributaries as Nepal and Bhutan have not been surveyed and little is known about them. One of the smaller rivers coming down from Bhutan brought large numbers of big trees which had been suddenly uprooted. Any real scheme to meet these sudden and overwhelming floods must be based on some knowledge of the areas in Nepal and Bhutan from which these rivers come. No local protection can adequately prevent such floods.

3. We have to consider this matter as an essential part of our planning. We hope that in erecting barrages and embankments etc., we shall be able to use manpower to a very large extent, to a far greater extent than we had ever thought of before. This will also be in the nature of relief and employment. We made a suggestion the other day to one of the States to arrange for 200,000 persons to work in this way. To my surprise, we were told that they could not find so many persons and the most they could supply was 50,000. This hardly fits in with the cry of widespread unemployment, or with the need for large-scale relief in the flood-affected areas. It seems to me that we have got into a groove of thought from which we find it difficult to emerge. We shall have to think differently if we want to function in a big way and we shall have to find manpower for such works, not in thousands, but in lakhs.

4. Probably when manpower is required, the average peasant is not thought of and only the landless labour is considered. That is not a correct approach. We must think of the present population of that area and give them inducements to work. The biggest inducement is to make them feel that they are doing something to protect themselves, their fields and their villages, apart from getting a normal wage. It is difficult to get away a man from his field when his land requires his labour. Therefore the time for this should be

during the slack season for the peasant when, in fact, he is largely unemployed. No one proposes that lakhs of persons should be employed continuously throughout the year for this purpose. But we can employ them for a few months at a time and then they can go back to their fields.

5. In spite of our vast population and the constant complaint about unemployment and underemployment, it is surprising that we should be unable to get almost any number of persons to work for a wage. This is not *shramdan* or voluntary labour.

6. We had a meeting yesterday of our Planning Commission where we discussed for several hours various basic problems connected with planning. In this connection, we considered Professor Bettelheim's<sup>4</sup> report which you may remember, I sent you some months ago. We did not wholly agree with Bettelheim, or rather we thought that his suggestions did not take into consideration the conditions existing in India. Nevertheless, what he said was thought-provoking and helpful. He had drawn attention especially to four points:

- (i) the necessity of a more direct linking between the problems of employment and the problems of productivity;
- (ii) the need of identifying, locating and utilizing the resources at present unutilized;
- (iii) the necessity of facing the problems of demand; and
- (iv) the necessity of adapting the structure of foreign trade and of balance of payments to the purposes of the Plan.

7. He had laid great stress, you will remember, on what he

4. Charles Bettelheim (b. 1913). French economist; Professor of Political Economy, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes since 1948; Head of U.N. Mission for Technical Assistance to Indian Government, 1955-56, his books include, *Studies in the Theory of Planning* (1959), *India in 1968 Class Struggles in the U.S.S.R.* (2 vol. 1975 and 1977) *China Since Mao* (1978)

called physical planning as opposed to financial planning and he was of opinion that the possibilities of the Indian economy were considerably greater than what the Plan had envisaged.

8. The first question that arises, of course, is the objective, that is, the social objective that we are aiming at. That aim is not likely to be reached in five years or even ten years or more. But we should be clear about it because only then can we take the necessary steps in that direction. I take it that our objective is to have ultimately a socialist economy. I am not using the word in any doctrinaire sense, but in its broad meaning. That economy as well as any planning require an organized approach based on adequate data with definite targets. It requires various kinds of controls at least at strategic points. It is clear that we cannot proceed along authoritarian lines, such as in the Soviet Union or even as in China. The problem for us, therefore, is how far we can achieve our objective through democratic planning without too much compulsion. It may be that this kind of planning does not yield those spectacular results which might be obtained by an authoritarian approach to this question and a great deal of compulsion. Even so, we prefer the democratic approach because of certain values and standards we cherish. But even that approach is only adequate if it takes us to the goal we aim at.

9. We must remember that the major examples of authoritarian planning that we know of have proceeded from very big upsets, such as in the Soviet Union and China, and a complete shattering of the old system. Also from the fact that the Soviet Union was largely cut off from the rest of the world for two or three decades and was thus compelled to rely on itself. They paid a very heavy price in suffering but they did succeed in achieving what they were aiming at. In China also, the position was a very special one after several decades of civil war, etc. We have to face a different situation in India. Nevertheless, we can profit by much that has been done in the Soviet Union as well as in China without adopting all their methods and policies.

10. The comparison with the Soviet Union and China is in some ways more helpful to us than the comparison with Western industrialized countries. We have to think in terms of an under-industrialized and under-developed country and the problems in such countries are different from those in the Western industrialized countries.

11. I am convinced that anywhere, and more especially in India, the peaceful democratic approach is the best in the long run. In India, I would say it is the best even in the short run because any other approach would lead to conflicts and great friction and this comes in the way of constructive work. Therefore, our approach has to be on these lines, but our ideal has to be a socialist economy. Meanwhile, we have to work for greater production as well as greater employment and the two have to be linked together. We have also to remember that we cannot rely too much on external help. As Bettelheim says, foreign investments can be accepted in the measure they fit into the framework of the Plan and do not imply excessive financial obligations. In addition to this, of course, there is the political aspect. Foreign aid brings political complications and ultimately perhaps a measure of economic control. The question, therefore, arises about our capacity for saving and investments, this investment being not primarily based on the profit motive but in our fulfilling the demands of our Plan.

12. There is one aspect which is of great importance and that is our having an adequate supply of trained personnel. Unless we have these trained people for all the various activities that we wish to take up, our progress will stop. Training takes time, sometimes years. We have, therefore, to train our people in sufficient numbers from now onwards so that they can be available as our Plan develops. We have paid some attention to this already, but I fear it has not been enough. We shall require hundreds of thousands of such trained people. In order to find out approximately the numbers necessary in the various sectors of our national economy, we cannot make just a wild guess. We have to approach this question, as others, from the expert statistical point of view.

13. We have, therefore, decided to have a special wing in our Central Statistical Office to deal with planning. For this purpose, that Office will have to be enlarged. The C.S.O. will also have to enquire into and gather various other types of essential information necessary for planning. We are taking steps to that end and I hope that your Government will cooperate in full measure with this.

14. We have been talking and writing about planning for the last three years or so and we have made the country planning-conscious. That is a gain. But I sometimes doubt if many of us, whether at the Centre or in the States, have fully appreciated the vital necessity of planning and the statistics necessary for it. Indeed, sometimes there is criticism of the Planning Commission as if it came in the way of our other work. I think that one of the biggest things we have done during the past few years is to develop this planning habit. It may be said that we have been rather slow about it. Perhaps that is so. But in the context of India, this vast and varied country, I think that we have made some impression and laid the foundations of future work. It is now up to us to proceed at a fast pace. That can only be done if we recognize the necessity of planning and cooperate with it to the fullest extent. When I say planning, I do not mean just a list of programmes, projects, and priorities but rather what is called real planning.

15. As a part of our planning, we have started the national extension service in the rural areas. This is a vast conception, covering as it does about 75 per cent of India. In these national extension blocks, we have to try to link production and employment. The ultimate test here and elsewhere of our progress is going to be employment. The problem of unemployment or under-employment in India is a very big one. But, under a planned approach, I have little doubt that we can attack it successfully. Certainly we should succeed in solving it, say in ten years' time from now or a little more.

16. In this attack on unemployment, small and cottage industries have to play a great part, both for those who are wholly unemployed and for those who are under-employed.

The second Five Year Plan, it has often been said, is going to lay much greater stress in the development of industry, both big and small.

17. In the international field, the major event has been the South East Asia Treaty signed at Manila.<sup>5</sup> Ever since there was a talk of this, we have made our position perfectly clear. We have not only kept away from this treaty, but have expressed our opinion that it is harmful to Asia as well as to the cause of peace. We adhere to that opinion. In South East Asia, three of the principal countries, namely, India, Burma, and Indonesia, have kept away from this treaty. That makes it rather unreal. It is essentially a treaty of Western Powers in regard to South East Asia. The habit of the West to carry the "white man's burden" in the East still continues, even though conditions in the world and in Asia have changed greatly.

18. Severe bombing has recently taken place in some of the islands off China.<sup>6</sup> This is a dangerous development though I do not think it will lead to any extension of the conflict.

19. The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo,<sup>7</sup> will be coming to Delhi in about a week's time<sup>8</sup> as our guest. It will be a pleasure to welcome such a distinguished guest. But, apart from this, his visit is of importance because it will enable us to discuss these recent developments. He is very anxious to hold an African-Asian Conference. We would welcome such a Conference, but we have pointed out that any such Conference requires a good deal of preparation.

5. By the treaty signed on 8 September 1954, the United States, United Kingdom, France, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand, agreed to stand together against aggression in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific, and restated their determination to stop "any attempt in the treaty area to subvert freedom."

6. The shelling of Quemoy and little Quemoy islands by the Chinese from 3 to 6 September 1954.

7. (1903-1975). Ambassador to U.S.A., Canada, and Mexico, 1950-53; Prime Minister, 1953-55 and 1956-57; Chairman, Nationalist Party, 1955-66; Permanent Representative to U.N. 1957-60

8. He visited India from 21 to 26 September 1954.

Indeed, it is no easy matter to decide as to who is to be invited to it.

20. I have accepted the invitation of the People's Government of China to go there and I propose to leave about the middle of October. I shall spend about ten days in China and about four or five days *en route* both ways. I shall thus be away from India for the latter half of October.

21. The Lok Sabha is at present considering the Special Marriage Bill<sup>9</sup> which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha or the Council of States. I am anxious that this Bill should become law before this session ends. It is the first of our social reform measures for which we have waited for so long. The various parts of the Hindu Code Bill are also ready for consideration. One of them, dealing with marriage and divorce,<sup>10</sup> is being considered by a Joint Select Committee.

22. It has always seemed to me that political progress by itself, though important, has little meaning unless it is accompanied by economic progress. I would add that both political and economic progress cannot take a nation far without social progress. Thus there has to be an integrated advance on all these fronts, political, economic and social

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Passed by Lok Sabha on 17 September, it received the President's assent on 9 October 1954.

10. The proposed Hindu Marriage Bill prescribed the minimum essential conditions for a Hindu marriage, rules regarding restitution of conjugal rights, judicial separation, the grounds for divorce and punishment for bigamy.

New Delhi  
1 October, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you under some pressure of work. The Parliamentary session has just ended<sup>1</sup> and I am going away tomorrow morning to Cochin from where I embark on the I.N.S. *Delhi* for Bombay. On the way there will be naval exercises. I shall spend two days in Bombay, October 6 and 7, and then return to Delhi. On the 15th October, I shall proceed on my journey towards China. I expect to return in the first week of November.

2. Yesterday and the day before, the Lok Sabha held a full debate on our foreign policy. In the course of this debate, I spoke twice at some length and referred to important aspects of our foreign policy. I discussed, in particular, the recent South East Asia Treaty<sup>2</sup> signed at Manila and the Goa problem.<sup>3</sup> I mentioned also Ceylon<sup>4</sup> and other matters.<sup>5</sup> I do not propose, therefore, to deal with these matters in this letter as no doubt reports of my speeches as well as the debates in the House will be available to you.

1. On 30 September 1954.

2. Nehru said that SEATO "has affected the whole conception of the integrity, independence and sovereignty of the countries of the area" and would "antagonise a greater part of Asia."

3. On 30 September 1954, Nehru reiterated that Goa is "a part of India. whatever the pressures, India would not give up its claim."

4. He expressed his distress that despite the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1954 the Sri Lanka Government had failed to solve the problem of the Indian settlers who "for all practical purposes are stateless."

5. He also touched on the problem of German rearmament the situation in South East Asia and on the problem of French settlements in India.

3 I would only add that the situation in the Far East, though not critical, continues to be difficult. Thus far any dangerous development which might lead to war has been avoided. But we have been near it often enough and there is always a risk of something happening which might lead to a blow-up. We have to be wary, therefore, and prepared for all contingencies, whatever they might be.

4. We had a visit from the Prime Minister of Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> This visit was particularly welcome because gradually on account of the force of circumstances as well as geography, history and culture, India is drawing closer to Burma and Indonesia. Indeed, these three countries are often referred to as belonging to the South East Asia pattern, that is to say, countries not aligned to any major group and following a neutral independent policy. Thus they form the core of the so-called area of peace. It is true that the Manila Treaty has interfered with this pattern in this area. But if the three countries hold together and are firm in their policies, it will not be easy to change the face of South East Asia.

5 I had full and frank discussions with the Prime Minister of Indonesia and we agreed about our approach to most problems. The question of an Asian-African Conference was also discussed.<sup>7</sup> I was rather doubtful about this some months ago, but I have come to the conclusion that such a Conference is desirable. Of course, much preparatory work will have to be done.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the Conference might meet at Djakarta in February next.<sup>9</sup> No final decision has yet been arrived at about the countries to be invited to this Conference.

6 From 21 to 26 September 1954.

7 On 28 September 1954, both Prime Ministers agreed that an Afro-Asian Conference "would be helpful in promoting the cause of peace."

8 The second meeting of the Colombo Powers was held at Bogor, Indonesia, on 28-29 December primarily to discuss the proposed Afro-Asian Conf

9 Held from 18 to 24 April 1955 at Bandung it was attended by 29

the five year period of the Plan, the total shortfall will be considerable. This is bad enough. It indicates that we are not suffering from lack of money but lack of capacity to use even the funds we have.

9 We have been considering increasing the pace of development, more especially, in regard to industry. We are prepared for deficit financing and the like. But we have thus far been unable even to live up to many of the targets of our present Plan, moderate as it is. How then will we speed this process and embark on a much more ambitious plan in future? We cannot, of course, throw about money and thus get through the sanctioned amounts. We have to use it as determined by the Plan. It is clear that our administrative apparatus does not move as swiftly as it should. It is not accustomed to gearing itself up for rapid results in planning. We are examining this matter again and I should like every State Government to do so. On our solution of this difficulty depends our future progress. Please, therefore, examine the work you have done under the Plan thus far and the extent to which it has not come up to the standard required. Why has this been so and how can we remove this difficulty?

10 The terrible railway disaster near Hyderabad<sup>16</sup> has come as a very great shock to all of us, as it must have been to you. There will be an enquiry and we must not express any final opinion till then. We have to remember that half an hour before this ill-fated train went, another train had passed safely over that little bridge. Within that half hour some sudden torrents washed away part of that bridge and the train coming at midnight with its sleeping load of passengers rushed into the roaring torrents. This whole accident is terrible to think of. There have been a spate of accidents and disasters all over the world, just as there have been floods in almost all the continents. Whether this indicates some change in climatic conditions or some other forces coming into operation, I do not know. We live in

<sup>16</sup> In a train accident near Aler in Andhra Pradesh on 27 September 1954 26 persons were killed and 72 injured.

14. This indicates the social changes taking place in our rural areas. No doubt we wish that this pace was much faster and went further. But we must recognize that the change has been considerable and in the right direction.
15. I am sorry to say that I feel rather tired. This is not so much a physical tiredness but more so mental and this leads to a certain staleness. Mental reactions are due to many causes. This has led me to think of how far I am doing justice to my work and the heavy responsibilities that I carry. At a meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament last evening, I mentioned this to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Another Prime Minister, namely, Sir John Kotelawala<sup>10</sup> of Ceylon will be coming here early next month.<sup>11</sup> He is coming at his own suggestion to discuss the question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon. I fear that this question is as far from solution as ever and I doubt very much if our talks here will lead to any positive result.<sup>12</sup>

7. The brief session of Parliament that has just concluded did good work. The outstanding measure that it passed was, I think, the Special Marriage Bill.<sup>13</sup> This is the first of other measures of social reform. I am very anxious that two of the Hindu Law Bills, namely, the one relating to marriage and divorce<sup>14</sup> and the other relating to succession<sup>15</sup> should be passed before long.

8. The Planning Commission has drawn my attention to the fact that we have been unable to spend our sanctioned moneys for our developmental schemes. There is this shortfall in some of our Central Ministries as well as in the States. It was understandable that in the first year or so full progress could not be made. But it is much more difficult to justify this shortfall in the third year of the Plan. The present estimate is, and it errs on the generous side, that at the end of

10. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 405

11. From 6 to 10 October 1954

12. The joint agreement signed on 10 October recognized the existence of a "basic difference of opinion" between the two Governments in respect of "stateless" persons in Sri Lanka. Both Governments therefore agreed to proceed with registration of Indian settlers as agreed upon in February 1954 and the Sri Lankan Government agreed to simplify the procedure for registration and review the position after two years. See also Vol. 3, p. 499.

13. The Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 17 September and received the President's assent on 18 October 1954.

14. The Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on 15 December 1954 and by the Rajya Sabha on 5 May 1955, received President's assent on 18 May 1955. See also *ante*, p. 49.

15. The Hindu Succession Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha on 22 December 1954, became law in June 1956. It aimed at evolving a uniform system of law with regard to intestate succession among Hindus and for determining the rightful heirs to their property. The Bill also gave for the first time a share of his father's property to a daughter and gave women absolute right to self acquired property.

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<sup>16</sup> In a train accident near Aler in Andhra Pradesh on 27 September 1954 126 were killed and 72 injured.

difficult and dangerous times and we have to keep ourselves ready for anything that might happen. We cannot slacken or become complacent about anything.

11. The Planning Commission has sent me an interesting paper. This relates to the redistribution of personal incomes in the United Kingdom. You will be interested in this and so I am enclosing a copy.<sup>17</sup> You will notice that the figures relate to the years from 1938 to 1952. They indicate how the so-called middle classes with an income of £250 to £1000 per annum have grown greatly in number. Income-tax assessment gives significant information. In 1938 there were about nine million assessments. (It should be noted that a married couple is counted as one individual for income-tax purposes.) In 1953 there were 23½ million assessments to income-tax. As some of these include two persons, we might well say that nearly half of the total population of the United Kingdom was assessed to income-tax. This is both interesting and significant. This is partly due to the result of the War and partly to the policy pursued by the Labour Ministry in England. It shows how social changes are taking place in Western countries at a fairly rapid pace without much shouting or agitation.

12. I have been interested in finding out the actual result, in terms of holdings, of our land legislation in India. Thus, to take the figures for Uttar Pradesh, in the 1931 census, there were 10% cultivating owners and in 1951 there were 83%. In 1931 there were 66% tenants; in 1951 there were 6.9%. Agricultural labourers in 1931 were 20.2%; in 1951 there were 7.7%.

13. The Bombay figures are as follows:

Classification	1931 census	1951 census (Percentage numbers)
Cultivating owners	16.6	66.3
Tenants	22.6	15.8
Agricultural labourers	56.5	14.7
Others	4.3	3.2

.4 This indicates the social changes taking place in our rural areas. No doubt we wish that this pace was much faster and went further. But we must recognize that the change has been considerable and in the right direction.

15. I am sorry to say that I feel rather tired. This is not so much a physical tiredness but more so mental and this leads to a certain staleness. Mental reactions are due to many causes. This has led me to think of how far I am doing justice to my work and the heavy responsibilities that I carry. At a meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament last evening, I mentioned this to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
9 October, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

As you are aware, we have been considering various proposals for amending the Constitution made by the State Governments and by our Ministries here. One of them is the amendment of Article 31<sup>1</sup> and the connected Articles 31A and 31B,<sup>2</sup> which has become an urgent problem because of the manner in which the Supreme Court has interpreted Article 31 in three cases<sup>3</sup> decided by it last year.

2. In these decisions, the Supreme Court has given a very wide meaning to the expression "taking possession of or acquiring property" occurring in clause (2) of Article 31 and regarded it as exactly the same as the "deprivation" referred to in clause (1) of that Article. It holds that if State action withheld any property from the possession and enjoyment of the owner or materially reduced its value, the abridgement of the owner's rights would amount to deprivation, and in every such case the law must provide for compensation to the owner. The Court has also given a very wide meaning to the expression "property" so as to include contractual rights. In consequence, the curtailment of every property right will have to be compensated under the law. The Court has

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Article 31 guaranteed the individual's right to property entitling him to compensation if deprived by the State.

2. These Articles were added by the First Amendment Act of 1951 as they enabled the State to acquire estates despite any inconsistency with fundamental rights.

3. *Dwarkadas v Sholapur Spinning Co* State of West Bengal ; *Subodh Gopal and West Bengal Co-operative Society v Bella Banerjee*

further held that the principles for determining compensation as laid down by the legislature must ensure a just equivalent of what the owner has been deprived of, and that the question whether those principles take into account all the elements which make up the true value of the property is a justiciable issue.

3. When clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 were being considered and passed by the Constituent Assembly, we certainly did not think that they would be interpreted in this manner by the courts. However that may be, this very liberal construction of the Article creates serious difficulties in the way of our putting through social welfare legislation on the lines we have in mind. The following items appear to be specially important from this point of view.

(i) While the abolition of zamindaris and the numerous intermediaries between the State and the tiller of the soil has been achieved with the help of Articles 31A and 31B, the power to modify, and in some cases extinguish, the rights of owners of large agricultural holdings not comprised in estates, is required for completing our programme of land reform. It is necessary to fix maximum limits to the size of agricultural holdings and to provide for the proper redistribution of any lands held in excess of such maximum.

(ii) One Central Act and two State Acts which provide for the acquisition and requisitioning of immovable property for the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons have been declared partially invalid on the ground that the principles for determining compensation laid down in those Acts are not correct. Two or three other State Acts enacted for a similar purpose are liable to be challenged on the same ground. It is necessary that these enactments should be validated.

(iii) Clearance of slums which are an eyesore in almost every town and the beneficial utilization of vacant and waste lands are among our main objectives in town and country planning and development. These should not be allowed to be held up by considerations of compensation

on the "just equivalent" theory. In fact, on any view of social justice, owners of slum property do not deserve to be compensated at all.

(iv) As in the case of the Sholapur Mills, it will often be necessary to take over under State management a commercial or industrial undertaking in the public interest. For instance, certain insurance companies which have been grossly mismanaged to the detriment of policy holders have been taken over under the provisions of the Insurance Act. Such temporary transference to State management in the public interest should not give rise to claims for compensation.

(v) Turning next to laws of a purely regulatory character, certain provisions of the Companies Bill<sup>4</sup> now before Parliament require to be safeguarded, e.g., the abolition of the managing agency system, the compulsory amalgamation of two or more companies in the national interest, the transference of an undertaking from one company to another, etc. Although these provisions may result in deprivation of property rights to some extent, it does not seem practicable, nor from a broad social point of view desirable, to provide meticulously for compensation in every such case.

(vi) It is desirable in the interest of the national economy that the State should have full control over the mineral and oil resources of the country. The extinguishment or modification of rights accruing to holders of mining leases and prospecting licences, whenever it becomes necessary to do so in the public interest, should be placed above challenge. This is equally true of public utility undertakings which supply power, light or water to the public under licences granted by the State.

<sup>4</sup> The Companies Bill amending and consolidating the law relating to companies was based on the recommendations of the Company Law Committee. It was introduced on 2 September 1958 and passed on 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1955.

(vii) Apart from the specific cases of extinguishment of property rights mentioned above, other cases which we cannot now visualize may arise calling for legislative action. A general provision to cover such cases would seem to be desirable.

4 The problem is how best to amend Article 31 or 31A or both the Articles in order that we may go ahead with our social welfare legislation without fear of its being challenged on constitutional grounds. Different methods have been suggested and we have very carefully considered all of them. We have also had the benefit of an informal discussion with some of the Chief Ministers on the 26th and 27th September. On the whole, the best plan seems to be to amplify Article 31A as in the attached draft and not to alter the provisions of Article 31 in any way.

5 For one thing, this was the method we adopted in 1951 when we were faced with the problem of validating the zamindari abolition laws which were being vigorously challenged before the courts. Another advantage that I see in this method is that we shall be placing clearly and prominently before the public the particular matters in which we as protagonists of a welfare State are deeply concerned and in regard to which property rights ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of progress and quick achievement. At the same time, in regard to all other matters requiring the acquisition and requisitioning of property for public purposes, Article 31(2) will continue to apply. At the present juncture when there is a large measure of economic stability in the country it would not be wise to raise needless scares by taking more power than we actually require. Such a step might prove to be a setback to our development plans.

6 I would request you and your colleagues to examine this problem in the light of what I have said above and let me

*Letters to Chittister*

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this 13<sup>th</sup> of comments before the 1st November. I should like  
States, before the requisite amending Bill in Parliament at  
for his presentation of the November session, if possible.<sup>3</sup>

The undersigned  
resolutions

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

<sup>3</sup> The Ratification of the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill introduced on 20  
May was passed by the Lok Sabha on 12 April and received the  
assent on 27 April 1955.

New Delhi  
10 October, 1954

My dear Chief Minister\*

Your Government will have received a letter from our Ministry of Law regarding an amendment of the Constitution contained in the Constitution (Third Amendment) Bill, 1954.<sup>1</sup> This Bill has been passed by the necessary majorities both by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.<sup>2</sup> The Bill has been sent to your Government.

The Bill itself is a small one and makes a petty change in List III, i.e., the Concurrent List, of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution.

This does not, in effect, bring about any real change. It means a continuation of the present position.

Although this was a small change, we have given a good deal of thought to it and we felt that, in the interests of planning as well as of co-ordination, this inclusion of one or two additional items in the Concurrent List was not only desirable, but necessary. There was and is no desire to encroach on the domain of the States. But it becomes more and more clear that if we are to go ahead with our planning in a big way, a certain measure of co-ordination is necessary.

I hope that your Legislature will ratify this Bill and that you will be good enough to take some personal interest in

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. As the Union jurisdiction in respect of certain industrial products would lapse on 22 January 1955, it became necessary to move an amendment to the Concurrent List to continue the Union's right to legislate on these subjects

2. It was passed on 23 September and 28 September 1954 respectively

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Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

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## 9

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this matter. When not less than half of the Part A and B States have ratified it, it will be placed before the President for his assent.<sup>3</sup>

This ratification of the amendment can be done by a resolution of the State Legislature.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 10

New Delhi  
10 October, 1954

My dear Chief Minister\*

As you know, I shall be going to China soon. I am leaving Delhi on the 15th morning and, after a short stay in Calcutta, I proceed to Rangoon, from there to Hanoi and then to Canton. I expect to return to Calcutta on the 2nd or 3rd November. I shall thus be away for a little over two weeks.

2. Some statements of mine have attracted much attention and comment.<sup>1</sup> These statements related to the possibility of my resigning from my present office. It struck me that it would not be right for me to leave India without an attempt to clarify my position in the eyes, more especially, of my comrades in the Congress. I have, therefore, addressed a letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees I want to share this letter with you and so I am enclosing a copy of it.

3. I hope that you will give thought to what I have written I have been thinking over this matter for the last two or three months. This thinking of mine came to a head some weeks ago and I felt rather strongly then that I should follow my urge and take some definite step. I restrained myself because I did not think it quite fair to my colleagues either in the Central Government or the States for any such step to be taken without the fullest thought and consultation.

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. In reply to a question by a representative of the press, Nehru said on 3 October 1954 on board I N S. *Delhi*, "if you want to know about the possibility of my relinquishing the Prime Ministership I can tell you that I am really tired of this office. See also his letter of 10 October 1954 at end p. 55.

4. The more I have thought about this, the stronger I have felt this urge to be. I have, therefore, decided to put these thoughts of mine before you and other colleagues.
5. I have valued, more than I can say, the friendship and comradeship of innumerable colleagues. Whatever I may have succeeded in doing has been due to the strength that I derived from that friendship and comradeship. It would be grossly unfair of me to take any such step as I intended without previous reference to them. Hence this letter to you and my letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees.
6. I want to function as effectively as possible. Sometimes I have had a feeling of inadequacy for the great tasks before us. That feeling is not good. I want to get rid of it, and the course I have suggested is meant to do that. I am sure you will appreciate what I have written.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10 October 1954

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*Enclosure\**

New Delhi  
11 October, 1954

Dear Comrade,

You must have read in the newspapers about some statements I have made recently suggesting that I should unburden myself of the high offices I hold. These statements have naturally led to much comment in the press and I have received a number of letters from friends and colleagues expressing some apprehension in regard to them.

2. I owe it to you and to other friends and colleagues to explain this matter a little more fully than I have so far done. I have occasionally referred to my feeling tired. That is correct, but it has no great significance. For many months past, the strain on me has been considerable and it is not surprising that I should feel somewhat tired. But that tiredness does not last and disappears with a little rest. I can assure you that I am in good health and as fit as any person at my age is expected to be.

3. Physical health is intimately connected with mental health. I think that both in body and mind I am healthy. I have a tendency to overdo things and sometimes overstrain myself, which of course is undesirable and should be avoided. But I am not careless of my health and I recover rapidly. That resilience itself, I suppose, is a good sign. Naturally, because of the heavy burdens I carry, I can hardly function in a carefree manner. That kind of existence is denied to me as it is to most other people. But I am convinced that hard work does not interfere with mental or bodily health, provided certain elementary precautions are taken. Indeed, on the whole, work is helpful even in maintaining flexibility of mind and body, which is an important element of health.

4 You will forgive me for discussing myself in this way. But, in view of some apprehension in the minds of people, I have ventured to do so. I can assure you that I am fit and that I propose to remain fit for many years to come. I do not believe in any kind of valetudinarianism and have a dislike of illhealth. I feel that I have many tasks still to perform in our country and I am determined to keep myself fit for the purpose.

5 Why then did I talk about tiredness and the like? Partly that represented my reactions at the time and my mood of the moment; partly it was something deeper. This was a feeling of staleness, which, I suppose, is almost inevitable, if one has to function like a machine. I can function effectively even as a machine, but it does come in the way of freshness of thought and outlook. I do not like this staleness and I feel it comes in the way of really effective work and creative thought which are so necessary for one who has to function in a highly responsible position. It was somehow to regain that freshness and creativeness that I wanted to leave the present routines that take up all my time.

6 I have no intention of running away from work or from responsibility. I have absolutely no idea of going into the wilderness or retiring to the mountains. I feel that I have a function to perform and so long as a person feels that way, the urge to work and activity is there. I have that strong urge in me. It is only the functionless who bemoan their lot and are full of complaints and ailments.

7 We have passed through, during these last seven years or more of independence, a difficult time and we have faced heavy tasks. We may not have come up to the mark always, but I have no feeling of disappointment at the record of these years. Indeed, I have a sense of fulfilment not for myself only but for the nation. I think that we have progressively made good and are well on our way to more rapid advance. While fully conscious of our many problems and difficulties and even of our failings, I do not understand the habitual critic who sees little good in our country today. I think that

reaction is misplaced and is often due to a kind of frustration resulting from a feeling of lack of function.

8. Indeed, it is because I think that our country has done well and that good and stout foundations for its progress have been made, that I think of some change in the nature of my activities. I want to work hard, but at the same time I want some leisure to read and think. One of the grave disadvantages from which those of us who are heavily engaged in governmental and like duties suffer is the lack of time to read and think and to confer with each other on basic matters

9. Because of all this, the thought came to me that it would be better for me not to function as Prime Minister at least for some time. I do not wish to tie myself to any course of action for an indefinite period. Nor do I wish to take any step in a hurry because the last thing I would like is to create an upset. This thought has been with me for some time. Various occurrences took place which disturbed me and led me even more to think of this. But at the back of my mind was not that particular occurrence but something deeper.

10. Sometimes people ask and newspapers write about a question, which I find somewhat irritating. "After Nehru, What?" "Who will succeed Nehru?" This question itself becomes a challenge to me and of course to the nation. It is absurd to think that a great nation depends upon an odd individual or two. My reaction to this question is to accept the challenge. I am sure that all will be well in any event.

11. As I have stated above, I do not propose to act in a hurry and I do not think in terms of final and irrevocable decisions. For the present I am sharing my thoughts with you, because I feel that I owe this to you and to our other comrades. I feel that we have, in a sense, completed an important stage in our journey and the next stage now looms ahead. I want to fit myself for that stage even more in mind than in body and I want to function with vigour and speed

12. I need hardly say that the fact of my not being Prime Minister will not put an end to my close association with

governmental, development, and like activities. I am bound up with this work and it is not mere office that ties me to it. I wish people would realize that important work is not inevitably connected with the holding of office.

13. Soon we shall have the election for the Congress Presidentship. I am quite clear in my mind that I should not stand again for election for this high office. It is time that someone else was head of this great organization under whose sheltering care all of us have grown up and functioned. It is not right for the same person to continue to function in that office. I shall of course work for the Congress with all my strength and energy. I think it will be better both for me and for the Congress as well as for the country if someone else is chosen President.

14. I have ventured to write to you frankly and to share my thoughts with you on the eve of my going to China, as I did not wish these vague rumours to continue and create doubts in the minds of our people. You will, I hope, forgive me for this rather personal letter. Circumstances have placed me in a position which has an impersonal aspect also. I try to consider myself and my work as objectively as possible. I know that is difficult, but an attempt has to be made.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 11

New Delhi  
15 November, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a long interval. My last fortnightly letter was dated October 1. You know that, during this period, I have been abroad and have paid a visit to China as well as to the States of Indo-China.<sup>1</sup>

2 Much has happened during these six weeks. The death of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>2</sup> has been a great blow. It is never easy to measure men because there are not uniform standards for such measurement. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was a particularly difficult person to assess because he was different from others. One test comes after death, the measure of popular reaction. I was not in India when he died, but I am told that his death provoked an extraordinary amount of public sorrow all over the country. More especially in Delhi, his funeral procession drew vast numbers of persons of all shades of opinion. I am not surprised to learn this because I knew that he was one of the very few who had by sheer hard work and ability won an abiding place in the hearts of our countrymen. He was essentially a man of the people and because of that they put up with much in him that would have irritated in others. I knew him from the early beginnings of the non-cooperation movement thirty-five years ago and we had worked together during this long period through all the ups and downs that came to us. We were in prison together and we were in the struggle together outside.

and later we were in the Government together. A politician is well known to be used to public speaking, and perhaps even to like it. Rafi Ahmed for many years always avoided a public speech even though he was playing a most important part in our organization. Public speaking was always somewhat of a trial to him and he avoided it, if possible. He expanded in small groups. He concentrated on hard organizational work and knew personally more persons in the U P and even in India than any one else that I know of. He was a loyal friend and was always willing to help anyone in distress. Innumerable people came to him for help. No person was turned away.

These were the qualities that endeared him not only to his numerous comrades but to the people at large. But behind these qualities was a sterling ability and a quickness of mind and grasp. He had a sense of what the people were thinking and had initiative and daring.

He was a Muslim of course but one never thought of him in terms of being confined to any community. He was an Indian patriot in the best sense of the word and his patriotism embraced the whole people and, therefore, he thought always in terms of the good of the masses. No number of rules or regulations or even working as a Cabinet Minister tamed his unconventional spirit.

He helped innumerable persons, but for himself he did little. The land he possessed he gave away to his tenants. His house in his village home Masauli in the District of Banda Banki, U P, continued to be a dilapidated structure, in some parts even lacking a roof. He had no time or money to look after it.

Such a man is unique anywhere and in the India of today his loss is indeed great. I feel it particularly, not only because a friend and comrade is gone, but because we have come to a stage in India when initiative and daring are necessary more than ever.

3 During my absence in China, an historic event took place in India. That was the *de facto* transfer of the

French Settlements to the Union of India.<sup>3</sup> I am particularly happy that this took place as a result of a friendly agreement with the French Government. Our policy was thus justified and we start this new chapter in Pondicherry, etc. in a spirit of goodwill to all. We hope that Pondicherry will continue to be a centre of the French language and French culture.

4. Immediately on my return from China, I went to Darjeeling<sup>4</sup> to inaugurate the Institute of Himalayan Mountaineering. This may appear to some as specialist work in which only a limited number of persons are likely to take interest. I considered it as having a larger significance. It seemed to me a symbol of our new India full of energy and aspiration and daring. Standing almost under the shadow of Kanchenjunga, I felt exhilarated and I sensed this new youthful spirit of our country. The Institute is not merely to instruct in high-class mountaineering, but also to train, I hope, large numbers of people in the smaller feats which produce initiative, endurance, and character, not to mention good health. Also, it is to encourage winter sports. I hope, therefore, that all the States in India will take interest in it and help it, more particularly those States which might be called the Himalayan States and which touch this mighty range of mountains which has been our friend and sentinel for ages past.

5. A few days ago, we had a meeting of the National Development Council<sup>5</sup> which you and other Chief Ministers attended. Among its decisions, the most important was the formation of a Standing Committee in which a number of Chief Ministers were included.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Planning

<sup>3</sup> On 1 November 1954, the French Government handed over the administration of Pondicherry and three other settlements to India.

<sup>4</sup> On 3 and 4 November 1954.

<sup>5</sup> On 9 and 10 November 1954.

<sup>6</sup> Following the criticism by some Chief Ministers of the lack of co ordination between the Centre and the States in the matter of planning, a Standing Committee consisting of the Chief Ministers of Bombay, Hyderabad, Madras, Rajasthan, Punjab, Travancore, Cochin, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh was set up on 10 November 1954.

Commission becomes, for purposes of policy and important decisions, a much larger and more representative body. I attach great importance to this.

We are already thinking of the second Five Year Plan. In framing this, the help of the Chief Ministers and their Governments is essential. Planning, inevitably, involves a measure of centralization. In other countries, such as China which I have recently visited, there is an absolute centralization in the governmental structure. Whatever other advantages or disadvantages this may have, it facilitates planning. We do not function in that way not only because of our parliamentary democracy, but also because we are a federal union with a large measure of autonomy in the States. I think this autonomy is good and, indeed, I believe in decentralization to the largest possible extent, provided it does not weaken the unity of the country or come in the way of its progress. At the same time, central co-ordination is essential if we are to plan. How then are we to do this and co-ordinate those opposing tendencies? Fortunately we have had no great difficulty in the past because most of us have functioned as colleagues in a common undertaking. So far as I am concerned, I can think of India only as an integrated whole.

The formation of the Standing Committee should facilitate even greater co-operation both in the framing of our plans and in their implementation. I feel that the time has come when we should show initiative and daring in dealing with our problems. Many countries today are planning their development and seeking to make rapid progress. We have to keep pace with others and even try to go ahead of them. Ultimately, every country will be judged by the results it shows in human well-being and national progress. Every other consideration will be secondary.

6. We can learn much from the industrially advanced nations of the West. But we have always to bear this fact in mind, that our country is differently situated. Those Western countries have had 150 years or more of industrial growth. We lag behind in that respect like other countries in

Asia and the problems we have to face are, therefore, different from the problems of those countries today. We are not going to have 100 years in order to make good. Our problems, therefore, are essentially similar to those of other under-developed countries in Asia. It is for this reason that I was particularly interested in what was happening in China and I said that the most exciting countries for me today were India and China. We differ, of course, in our political and economic structures, yet the problems we face are essentially the same. The future will show which country and which structure of Government yields greater results in every way

We have been in intimate touch with the United Kingdom and with Western European countries. We have also been in touch with the United States of America. It is right that we should learn from them. I welcome, however, our attempts to find out what has been happening in the Soviet Union; in Yugoslavia and other countries which, till recently, were industrially backward and mainly agricultural countries. We should consider what has been done there with an open and objective mind and profit by what we can take. For my part, I believe in parliamentary democracy and in individual freedom. But I also believe that it is essential to have rapid economic progress. We have to combine the two. That is a great test for us and it will require all our wisdom and all our strength and unity of purpose.

7 As you know, there have been strange happenings in Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> The Constituent Assembly has been dissolved and the Cabinet has been changed. An interesting feature of this change is the inclusion of our old friend and comrade Dr. Khan Sahib<sup>8</sup> in the Central Cabinet. I cannot say what

7. On 24 October 1954, the Governor-General of Pakistan, proclaiming a state of emergency, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and reconstituted the Cabinet. The outgoing Ministers were M. Zafullah Khan, M.A. Gurmani, Sardar Bahadur Khan, Hussain Qureshi, A.K. Brohi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Shoaib Qureshi and they were replaced by M.A. Ispahani, Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, Khan Sahib and Mu' Ghulam Ali Talpur.

8. For b fn see Vol. 1 p. 279

this will lead to in Pakistan or how it will affect our relations with that country. I hope that it will better those relations because I am convinced that some time or other we must put an end to our conflicts.

The example of Pakistan brings out rather forcibly that foreign help is not an unmixed blessing. Military aid is even less helpful in the long run. All this dependence on foreign aid brings internal weakness. An essential quality for a nation, if it wants to advance, is self-assurance and faith in itself and the capacity to work hard. If it depends on others, then its very foundations are weakened. I do not wish to make any invidious comparisons but anyone can see how India has progressed during the past few years, in comparison with many other countries of Asia.

8. The General Assembly of the United Nations is proceeding in New York and India has taken a prominent part in the discussion of many world issues there.<sup>9</sup> It seems to be our fate to play that part. We cannot escape the burdens that circumstances have placed upon us.

9. The few days I spent in China and subsequently in Indo-China have left so many impressions on my mind that I could write at great length about them. I would like to share these impressions with you. I cannot write everything but I have prepared a note on this subject, a copy of which I enclose. The basic fact that stands out in my mind, quite apart from communism or anti-communism, or the various other issues that confront China and Asia, is the emergence of this great country. Let there be no mistake about it. It is a great country not only in size, but in spirit and character, and when all these three are joined together then the results are also likely to be big. Here is a vast country, unified for the first time in history under a strong and stable Government,

<sup>9</sup> The ninth session of the U.N. General Assembly was held from 21 September to 17 December 1954. The principal subjects discussed were disarmament, peaceful use of atomic energy, Soviet complaint against U.S. aggression in China, the Cyprus question, and the South African racial policy.

consisting of men who know their minds and who have been hardened by more than a quarter of a century's conflict and trouble and misfortune. Behind this basic fact of a strong China, likely to develop rapidly, all else is irrelevant and nothing appears to me more irrelevant in this context than the arguments about China's admission in the U.N., as if it was possible to ignore such a country in the full flush and pride of freedom and unity.

10 Our Parliament starts today. It will deal with many matters, but the most important seem to me to be the Hindu Law Reform Bills and the amendment of the Constitution. I hope we shall be able to go ahead with these and at least to pass one of the Hindu Law Bills during this session. The amendment of the Constitution has become imperative if we intend to make much progress in the economic and social fields. No one wants to amend Constitution in haste. But when the times come for it, then it has to be done. The final test is what is good for the people and no other test can apply.

11 I have promised to go to Djakarta in Indonesia at the end of December for the second meeting of the Colombo Powers, as they are called. This meeting has been convened especially to work out the details of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference. The necessity for this Conference has grown in my mind. It is true that such a Conference is likely to be a very mixed affair, but we must face that

12 At the end of January, soon after Republic Day, I have to go to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.<sup>10</sup> This is likely to be important.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

*Enclosure\**

During my visit to China, I had a number of talks with the Chinese leaders. I had long talks with Premier Chou En-lai<sup>1</sup> separately. I also had joint talks with Chairman Mao Tse-tung<sup>2</sup> and his principal colleagues, viz., Vice-Chairman Chu Teh,<sup>3</sup> Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Peoples' Congress, Liu Shao-chi,<sup>4</sup> Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Soong Ching-ling<sup>5</sup> (Madame Sun Yat-sen), Vice-Premier Chen Yen<sup>6</sup> and the Chinese Ambassador<sup>7</sup> in India. On our side in these joint talks, we had our Secretary General, N.R. Pillai,<sup>8</sup> and our Ambassador in Peking, N Raghavan.<sup>9</sup> We both had interpreters with us.

2. I met separately the principal Ministers dealing with economic and financial policy and the Five Year Plan. Also Ministers dealing with land problem and flood control.

3 All these talks were through interpreters. Chairman

\* A note written on 14 November 1954 on the visit to China and Indo-China.

1. Zhou Enlai. For b. fn. see Vol. 3, p. 82
2. Mao Zedong. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 116.
3. Marshal Zhu De (1886-1976). Commanded the Communist eighth route army, 1937, and 18 Group army, 1946-49; Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government Council, 1949-54, and People's China, 1954-59, Chairman, National People's Congress Committee, 1959-76.
4. Liu Shaoqi (1898-1969). Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government, 1949-54; Chairman, People's China, 1959-68;
5. Song Qingling (1890-1981). Widow of Sun Yat-sen; Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government Council, 1949-54; Vice-Chairman, Standing Committee of National People's Congress, 1954-59; Vice-Chairman, People's China, 1959-74; Chairman, Presidium of National People's Congress, 1975-81.
6. Chen Yun (b. 1905). Vice-Premier, State Council of China, 1949-75, 1978-80; Vice-Chairman, Chinese Communist Party, 1956-69, 1979-81
7. Yuan Zhongxian (Chung-hsien). For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 187.
8. For b. fn. see Vol. 1 p. 174
9. For b. fn. see Vol. 3 p. 71

Mao and most of his colleagues did not understand English at all. Premier Chou En-lai understood English a little and occasionally said a word or two in English, but his knowledge of English was limited. Madame Sun Yat-sen, of course, knew English well and I had a separate direct talk with her also.

4 I met large numbers of other leading personalities including the Dalai Lama,<sup>10</sup> the Panchen Lama<sup>11</sup> and scientists, medical men, engineers, people connected with cultural affairs, some representatives of nationalities, educationists, actors and actresses. My talks with these groups were brief and usually took place in big receptions.

5. Our talks covered a large range of subjects. I was interested in the finances and economic implications of the Five Year Plan. I do not, however, propose to deal here with these talks regarding financial and economic matters as it was not possible for me to get a full grasp of these rather complicated subjects. I was promised a full note on these matters which I have not yet received. I might mention here that the Chinese budget for this year amounted to about: Revenue—4,500 million U.S. dollars, and Expenditure over 5,000 million U.S. dollars. There was thus a deficit of 500 million U.S. dollars. I was told that during the two previous years there had been considerable surpluses and the present deficit was covered by them. The chief sources of income were the turn-over tax and profits from State undertakings. Income from land was inconsiderable. It should be remembered that China is very much a unitary and centralized State, so that the budget was for the whole of China.

6 My discussions about flood control and cultural matters were also interesting.

7 The real discussions were with Premier Chou En-lai and

10. (b. 1935). Enthroned as Dalai Lama at Lhasa, 1940; Vice-Chairman, National Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1951-59; visited India 1956; left Tibet for India, 1959.

11 (b. 1937) Installed as Panchen Lama 1944; Vice Chairman Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee 1951-59 and 1979

Chairman Mao and party. Although we talked about a large variety of subjects, I shall refer here only to some principal points that arose in the course of these discussions.

8 Chairman Mao referred to the age-old association as well as to the new friendship between China and India. Both countries were struggling for peace. They had more or less common experiences in recent history and both countries needed peace to reconstruct their economies as both were industrially backward. The Chairman considered that India was industrially somewhat more advanced. But both countries were in this respect backward and had large populations. Industrial development had to be achieved quickly in both. Given peace, it might take China about four Five Year Plans, i.e., 20 years or so, to become an industrial country with foundations laid for a socialist economy. China, therefore, was anxious for peace. But some countries, notably U.S.A., were obstructing this process. U.S.A. was occupying, or helping in the occupation, not only of Formosa, but many islands very near the Chinese mainland. There was bombardment of the Chinese mainland from these islands and air-raids were frequently carried out. During the past two years, there had been air-dropping in the Chinese mainland not only of groups of men, but also of wireless transmitters and other equipment. Many of such groups had been rounded up and caught. Most of them consisted of Chinese Kuomintang agents, but there were some Americans also among them.

9. China was not a threat to any country and wished to live in peace with all other countries. But the U.S.A. did not permit her to do so and even brought pressure to bear upon England, France, and other countries to prevent them from co-operating with China.

10. The question of Formosa or the other islands occupied by Formosan troops was not discussed by me. But it was made clear to me that great importance was attached by the Chinese Government to this issue of Taiwan and, even more so to the islands of the mainland and the interference with normal coastal trade and attacks on the mainland.

11. Some reference was made to the Manila treaty<sup>12</sup> and Chairman Mao pointed out that this treaty was the result of the American reaction to the Geneva Agreement. The American Government did not like that Agreement and wanted to come in the way of peaceful settlements.

12. Reference was also made to the five principles<sup>13</sup> which had been included in the joint declarations issued by India and China and Burma and China.<sup>14</sup> It was agreed that if these principles were agreed to by other countries and acted upon by all of them, this would go a long way in removing tensions and fears.

13. I agreed to this and pointed out that there was no doubt that there was a certain amount of fear in the minds of the smaller nations in Asia of China. That fear might have no basis, but the fact remained that there was that fear. Some of these countries were perhaps also afraid of India. It was essential, therefore, that this fear and suspicion should be removed. In the past both the Chinese and Indian peoples had spread out to countries in South East Asia and there were considerable populations of overseas Chinese and overseas Indians.

14. Chairman Mao agreed that these fears must be removed and nothing should be done which might cause apprehension to these countries.

15. In this connection reference was made, especially, to the Chinese overseas and to the question of their nationality. I was assured, what I had been told previously, that the Chinese Government wanted to settle this question in co-operation with the countries concerned. There were some

12. See *ante*, p. 48.

13. The five principles, termed as *Panchsheel* were: (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) non-aggression, (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefits, and (5) peaceful co-existence.

14. Included for the first time in India-China Agreement on Tibet signed on 29 April 1954. It was reaffirmed in joint statements of Nehru and Zhou Enlai U Nu and Zhou Enlai and Nehru and Ho Chi Minh on 20 June 29 June and 17 October 1954 respectively

difficulties in dealing with it as a whole. They proposed, therefore, to deal with it separately for each country. The Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu,<sup>15</sup> would be visiting China soon and they would discuss this matter with him. Later, they would discuss this with Indonesia. Their general approach was that the Chinese abroad should choose their nationality, that is, whether they would continue as Chinese nationals or become nationals of the country they lived in. There should be no dual nationality. It seemed to me that while this point was quite clear in the minds of the Chinese leaders, they had some apprehensions lest any step that they might take might be to the advantage of the Formosa Government. Hence this caution in approach and the separate approaches.

16 The Chinese leaders repeatedly assured me that they did not want war and that they were prepared to co-operate with every country and have diplomatic relations with it, even though that country was opposed to them. They mentioned, in this connection, particularly Thailand and the Philippines which, they pointed out, were completely under the influence of the U.S.A. This itself was evidence of the Chinese desire to live at peace with other countries. These countries, I was told, accused China of thinking in terms of aggression, but did not respond to the Chinese offer to establish improved relations. China was prepared to issue joint statements on the basis of the five principles with other countries. This would rule out aggression as well as internal interference.

17 Reference was made by me especially to this internal interference through local Communist parties. I was assured that China did not wish to interfere in any way with local affairs.

18 Chairman Mao dealt at some length with the past two World Wars and their revolutionary consequences. He pointed out that China had no atom bombs or any equipment of the latest type. But the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. had

<sup>15</sup> For b fn see Vo 1 p 18

both. Ultimately it was the people who would count and who would be the deciding factors. He pointed out that the experience of both the World Wars was that the countries who started the war were defeated and those who were on the defence won. Another consequence was revolutions in some countries and the freedom of some colonial countries. Thus, if unfortunately another World War took place, disastrous as it might be, it would lead to the defeat of the aggressors and possibly other revolutionary changes might take place. He was not afraid of a war if it came, but he did not want it because of its disastrous consequences to the world and because it would come in the way of developing their countries.

19 I was not fully in agreement with Chairman Mao's analysis, but I entirely agreed with him that war must be avoided and every step which might lead to war should also therefore be avoided.

20. My talks with Premier Chou En-lai covered larger ground. He referred also to the United States policy which came in the way of peace and created tense situations in the Far East. "Why", he asked, "was America so aggressive and what was her motive in carrying on these aggressive activities in the Far East?" I replied that I did not think that the American people wanted war but undoubtedly they were afraid of Communist aggression and wanted to take action to protect their interests. Premier Chou did not quite agree with me and said that America's policy was an expansionist policy. He referred to the military aid given to Pakistan which had nothing to fear from China or the Soviet Union. America, according to him, wanted to bully weaker nations and rule the world.

21 I pointed out to Premier Chou that this was exactly what some countries in the West said about Soviet imperialism and communism endangering the peace of Europe and the world. They said also that Communists did not want war because they thought they could get everything without war, that is by infiltration and other tactics.

22 Premier Chou said that this was absurd. China had

already made a declaration of five principles, and revolution could not be imported from outside. He referred to the Kuomintang forces on the Burmese borders<sup>16</sup> and said that China would have been justified in attacking them as they were creating trouble on the Chinese side. But the Chinese Government realized the difficulties of the Government of Burma and wanted to be friendly to them. Therefore, they desisted from any activity against the Kuomintang troops there.

23 I referred to Chinese maps which still showed portions of Burma and even of India as if they were within Chinese territory. So far as India was concerned, I added, we were not much concerned about this matter because our boundaries were quite clear and were not a matter for argument. But many people took advantage of these old maps and argued that China had an aggressive intent or else why continue to use these maps. In Burma also this caused apprehension

24. Premier Chou replied that these maps were old ones and China had not done any surveying to draw new maps. Their boundaries even with Mongolia and the Soviet Union were still not clearly demarcated and there were discrepancies. I pointed out that this might be so. So far as India was concerned, I repeated, there was no doubt about our boundaries and I was not worried about them. But I wondered how China would feel if a part of Tibet had been shown as part of India in our maps.

25 I referred also to the case of K.I. Singh,<sup>17</sup> a Nepalese national, who had rebelled against his Government and who, according to reports, had been given encouragement in China. This kind of thing created apprehensions in the minds of Asian countries. Premier Chou replied that K.I. Singh crossed into Chinese territory with some other men in possession of rifles and ammunition. According to international custom, China disarmed them and gave them asylum. Nothing more was done. He referred in this

16 See Vol. 3 pp. 277 and 279

17 For b fn. see Vo 2, p. 555

connection to the intention of the Dalai Lama at one time to go to India. The Indian Ambassador had told the Chinese Government then that if the Dalai Lama came to India and sought asylum, they could not refuse this and they would treat him with courtesy but would not encourage any political activities on his part. As a matter of fact, the Dalai Lama did not go to India but some of his relatives did go there and had been given asylum. The Chinese Government did not mind this. In K.I. Singh's case, the Chinese Government had given him asylum and he would not be allowed to take part in any political activity against his country.

26 Premier Chou asked me questions about Nepal and various other countries. He referred to his invitation to the Indonesian Prime Minister to come to China. The Indonesian Prime Minister had expressed the wish that Premier Chou should first go to Indonesia. This was not possible for some time as he was very busy with important work, more especially as he had been absent for a long time in Geneva and elsewhere. Premier Chou was particularly interested in foreign influences at work in various countries of Asia, more especially American influences. He referred especially to pressure brought upon them to join the so-called South East Asia Defence Organisation. He referred to Thailand also and said that they were anxious to have normal relations with it.

27 Premier Chou also asked me about my visit to Indo-China and the position there.

28 Premier Chou referred to Korea. He was anxious that something should be done to settle the Korean problem. He thought that a conference should be held soon to consider this and that the old Geneva Conference should be enlarged for this purpose by adding neutral Asian countries.

29 I said that I agreed that we must pursue methods to arrive at a settlement in Korea and a conference for this purpose would be necessary. But such a conference should be held at the right time when some ideas about a settlement were clearer. Mere y to have a conference without such ideas

might lead again to a deadlock. Meanwhile, it was important that we should not allow the situation in Korea to deteriorate.

30. We discussed India-China relations and the exchange of technical personnel, books, periodicals, etc. Also an agreement about air services. It was agreed that there should be a reciprocal arrangement for an Indian air service at a Chinese port, probably Canton. This matter was to be discussed further through diplomatic channels.

31. I referred to certain difficulties of pilgrims going to Tibet. Premier Chou agreed to look into this matter and to remove such difficulties. He also agreed to the supply of silk cocoons to Kashmir and suggested our sending an expert to select the varieties.

32. He informed me about the Chinese desire to have diplomatic relations with Nepal. I told him that the Nepalese Government had kept us informed of this. The King of Nepal<sup>18</sup> had been ill and had gone to Switzerland for treatment. On his return, they would no doubt take up this matter. So far as we were concerned, we would welcome friendly relations between Nepal and China.

33. I gave him a brief outline of recent Nepalese history and how previously Nepal was far from independent, that is, before India became independent. There was no interference in internal matters, but otherwise the United Kingdom was the suzerain power. Independent India had accepted the full independence of Nepal and had not claimed some of the rights that Britain had exercised. But the two countries had agreed that their foreign policies should be co-ordinated. It was clear that India had a special position in Nepal and it became necessary, therefore, for their foreign policies to be in line with each other. India did not approve of foreign intervention in Nepal in any way. As for Nepal and China, it was desirable that they should settle such problems as existed in regard to Tibet. The question of diplomatic

<sup>18</sup> Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah. For b. fn. see Vol. 1 p. 362.

representation could probably be dealt with by the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi also being accredited to Kathmandu I pointed out that Nepal was passing through grave internal difficulties and we wanted to help her to get over them and not add to these difficulties.

34 Premier Chou asked me about the Afro-Asian Conference. I told him that we had agreed on the principle of it but had not decided the details and that we were likely to meet soon at Djakarta to consider this matter. Premier Chou welcomed the idea and it was evident from his talk with me that he would like China to be invited to it.

35 I have given a brief summary of our talks. These talks both with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou were frank and friendly. We did not discuss the theories or ideology underlying our respective political and economic structures. We knew that they were different and yet there was much in common in the work of both the countries and many of our problems were similar. We entirely agreed that we should respect each other's viewpoints and without interference co-operate in dealing with our problems. More especially we should co-operate in the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world at large.

36 Essentially our problems were alike that is vast countries and populations, chiefly agricultural, with low standards of living, and the necessity to raise these standards by industrialization and agricultural reform. Even in regard to floods, we had similar problems. Our approach to the solution of these problems was not the same and yet there was much in common with it and we could profit by each other's experience, provided always there was a friendly approach and no interference with each other.

37. I received an extraordinarily cordial welcome everywhere in China. This was not only an official welcome but a popular welcome also in which millions joined. I was greatly impressed by it. It was clear to me that this welcome represented something more than political exigency. It was almost an emotional upheaval representing the basic urges of the people for friendship with India

38 I have no doubt at all that the Government and people of China desire peace and want to concentrate on building up their country during the next decade or two.

39 I saw many of the famous sights of Peking and elsewhere. I visited their steel plants in Manchuria to which a new addition had been made with Soviet help. This was a fine addition rapidly constructed. I also visited Dairen, their port and ship-building yard, and various factories.

40 Chairman Mao told me that they lacked technicians and that they were receiving a great deal of help from Soviet technicians which he welcomed. These technicians came for limited periods, trained the Chinese and went away. There were no political or other strings attached. In their recent agreement with the Soviet Government, the Soviet had undertaken to put up 141 major enterprises in China as a part of the Five Year Plan.

41 I would add that I hardly saw the villages of China and my impressions were gathered entirely from the big cities. I visited Peking, Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Mukden, Anshan and Dairen. The major impression I got was of a country smoothly running with enormous potential strength which was being translated gradually into actual strength. The people I saw in the cities looked well clad and well-fed, and I noticed no depression in face or demeanour. Young men and girls and children were particularly in evidence and they were a pleasant-looking crowd, jolly and full of enthusiasm. Undoubtedly there is a great deal of regimentation as it is called. Their discipline was remarkable. But I would say that the Chinese have always been a more or less disciplined people. The shops appeared to be full of goods. There were thousands of small privately-owned shops. There were some big State-owned department stores. These were also full of various kinds of goods, though luxury articles were not in evidence. These department stores were crowded with literally thousands of persons.

42 Another impression that I gathered was of the essential Chineseness of a most everybody I met from cagers to the public. Few persons know foreign languages. Everything is

done in Chinese. Chinese art and cultural activities were encouraged and there was a great deal of pride in China's great past and cultural accomplishments. Chairman Mao, in the course of his talks with me, referred on two or three occasions to some lines of a Chinese poet of a thousand years ago.

43 I visited Chinese operas of the old style. I also saw a modern play of a propagandist nature.

44 I did not sense the presence of any fear among the Chinese. They had plenty of self-confidence and self-assurance.

45 It must be remembered that the Chinese passed through 40 years' of revolution, war-lords, civil war, Japanese invasion and the World War. During this period, they had no peace or security. The mere coming of peace and security is a tremendous blessing for the people now. The feeling that they are strong and united and playing an independent part in the world adds to their self-esteem.

46. I could not help feeling during my visit to China, even more than I have done before, how completely irrelevant was the idea that this great nation could be ignored or bypassed. The idea of not allowing them to function in the United Nations appeared fantastic. The time has passed when they can be injured much by this policy. It is the rest of world that is more likely to suffer from it.

47. I paid brief visits to Vientiane in Laos, Hanoi and Saigon, and Phnom Penh in Cambodia. I also visited the famous ruins of Angkor Wat.<sup>19</sup> In all these places I met prominent personalities.

48. The person who impressed me most was Dr. Ho Chi Minh<sup>20</sup> of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, who came to see me at Hanoi. Hanoi had passed into his hands just five

19. The temple built by Suryavarman II (1113-50) is known for unique sculptural design and craftsmanship.

20. For b fn see Vol. 2 p. 17

days previous to my arrival. This was a peaceful and very disciplined transfer from the French to the Viet Minh. Dr. Ho Chi Minh impressed me as an unusually frank, straightforward and likable person. Although he has been engaged in a war for seven years against the French, he was the very reverse of a warlike person. He struck me as a man of peace and goodwill. He did not say a word against the French to me. Indeed, he expressed his desire for co-operation with the French and even to be associated with the French Union, provided his country had complete independence. He mentioned the relationship of India with the Commonwealth and asked me for further particulars about it. It was evident that Viet Minh was well-organized and disciplined.

49. South Vietnam produced a completely opposite effect on me. The whole place seemed to be at sixes and sevens with hardly any dominant authority. The Prime Minister<sup>21</sup> and his Generals were opposed to each other.<sup>22</sup> There were three private armies of some kind of semi-religious sects. Foreign representatives apparently also pulled in different directions. It was generally estimated that if there was a vote now, 90 per cent or more of the population would vote for Viet Minh. What would happen a year or two later, one could not say.

50. Laos also appeared to be a sleepy and rather depressing place. There was a good deal of French influence there still.

21. Ngo Dinh-Diem (1901-1963). Premier, South Vietnam, 1954-55 and its president till 1963 when he was assassinated in a coup.

22. Ngo Dinh-Diem taking over as Premier in June 1954 was able to mobilize political support from none of the political parties or the sects viz., Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen nor from the army generals. On 24 September, he succeeded in forming a coalition government with the support of the three sects but his strained relations with the army leaders gave rise to fears of a military coup and civil war.

and the International Commission was facing rather difficult problems.<sup>23</sup>

51 Cambodia was somewhat different. It could be considered more or less independent although there were one or two issues still to be settled with the French. The International Commission had completed the greater part of its labours and the Joint Commission of the two parties had finished its work.<sup>24</sup> The young king<sup>25</sup> is popular and is a bright and agreeable person. But it was said that he was in the hands of a palace clique. Some of his high-placed officers told me that unless the king got the support of some prominent leaders who stood for far-reaching political and economic reforms, the future was not happy.

52 Premier Chou En-lai asked me as to whether we were going to recognize these Indo-China States. I told him that for all practical purposes we were dealing with them, either through the International Commission or otherwise as if we had recognized them. We intended sending Consuls-General to them. For the present, we did not intend going any further because of our delicate position as Chairman of the three International Commissions.

53 Since my talk with Premier Chou En-lai, I passed through Cambodia and I felt that the case of Cambodia was somewhat different from the others and we might perhaps go a little further in our relations with that State. We are considering this matter now.

November 14, 1954

Jawaharlal Nehru

23. These related to the disengagement of the Pathet Lao troops throughout Laos and their final demobilization by a political settlement. There was also disagreement as to whether the Pathet Lao forces could assemble in the entire province or in the provisional assembly areas only, on the right of the Royal Laotian Government over these areas, and on the meaning of the political settlement.

24. By October 1954, the demobilization of the Khmer resistance forces and evacuation of the Khmer national armed forces had been completed, the Vietnamese military units had been repatriated and the ceasefire in Kampuchea had been effected.

25. No Sihanouk. For b fn. see Vol. 3 p. 318

# 12

New Delhi  
21 November, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I am writing to you about the ratification of the Constitution (Third Amendment) Bill by the State Legislatures.<sup>1</sup> As I have pointed out to you, it is important that this should be done as early as possible. It is important because this affects our powers in regard to essential supplies. We do not want to have recourse to Ordinances for this purpose.

The only two States that have already ratified are the Punjab and Rajasthan. Some others propose to do so fairly soon.

I would request you, therefore, to make a special effort to get this done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1 See *ante* pp. 6 and 62.

# 13

New Delhi  
29 November, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

A colleague of mine has drawn my attention to the fact that quite a large number of buildings belonging to the princes and zamindars are lying unutilized and, in fact, are deteriorating. The owners are not interested in their upkeep, or they cannot afford it now in the changed circumstances prevailing today.

Wherever a social change takes place, this happens. In England the huge country estates which belonged to the so-called aristocracy became a burden to them and it became impossible for them to maintain these vast mansions. They converted them, therefore, into hospitals or other public institutions. Some of them were given over to the National Trust.

It is quite likely that there are many such buildings all over India which are gradually decaying. Is it not possible to utilize them? A case has been brought to my notice which is interesting. One of the stables of the Maharaja of Darbhanga has been converted into a fine Sanskrit Research Institute.

I suggest that some steps might be taken to find out about these buildings of princes and landlords. This would include both big buildings and the relatively smaller ones. The next question would be to select such of them as can be taken over and utilized for a variety of purposes, such as hospitals, schools, colleges, Bal Bhavans or children's

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

homes, libraries, recreation centres, community halls, co-operative stores, village panchayats, cottage industry showrooms, warehouses, museums, etc. They might even be used for residential purposes, that is, a building could be made into several sets of flats.

It might be possible in this way not only to save buildings that are worth saving, but use them for some purpose for which otherwise a new building would be necessary.

I do not suggest any compulsory acquisition of these buildings from their owners. This will be entirely a matter of friendly negotiation. Sometimes the building might be given free if it is a burden to the owner, or it might be given at a nominal price or on some instalment basis.

There is a possibility of our considering the formation of a national trust for such buildings. Some of the smaller buildings might be acquired at the normal prices.

I am suggesting this to you for your consideration so that you might take some action in this matter. It is not necessary for us to prepare comprehensive lists of all such buildings. To begin with, we can note down the principal ones. Lists can always be added to later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 14

New Delhi  
29 November, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

As you are perhaps aware, we have started National Botanical Gardens. This scheme is meant for the whole of India. For the present, a start has been made in Lucknow, but such gardens, we hope, will also be started elsewhere under the supervision of this national body.

This institution would like to help both in the cultivation of plants of economic importance and in the conversion of barren lands, usar or alkaline lands or eroded lands into cultivable lands. They can do this probably without great difficulty or any considerable expense.

The suggestion is that such barren, usar or alkaline lands, which are of no use at present either to the owner or to the Government, might be passed on to the Controller of the National Botanical Gardens so that they might start making them economical. This should not involve any great expense and obviously would be helpful in many ways.

If you are agreeable to this approach and can indicate what you can do in this matter, we can work this proposal out in greater detail.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

New Delhi  
1 December, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,\*

As you know, the Bank employees union have decided to have a strike.<sup>1</sup> Some efforts are being made to have sympathetic strikes by other labour unions also. The Communist Party is making every effort to make these strikes a success. I think that at the most this Bank strike will be a partial one. But even a partial strike is troublesome.

2. I doubt if any labour strike could have less justification than this one. Government took the unusual step of appointing a judge of the High Court, Justice Rajadhyaaksha,<sup>2</sup> to go into all the grievances of the Bank employees and to examine this entire matter thoroughly.<sup>3</sup> This was done very soon after the decision we had made on this subject. In effect, soon after our decision, we expressed our willingness to reconsider this matter if additional facts were placed before us and we went further and appointed a Judge to gather these facts. I cannot conceive what more Government could have done.

3. Nevertheless, some of the leaders of the Bank employees union have decided to have a strike and are making every effort to make it a success. Obviously, we cannot submit to

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. On 18 October 1954, the All India Bank Employees' Association called for an indefinite strike throughout the country to demand withdrawal of the amended Bank Award by the Government. See also *ante*, pp. 32 and 33.

2. For b fn see Vol. 3, p. 284.

3. On 17 September 1954, the Government constituted a Bank Award Commission to examine the effect of the modified apprenticeship award of August 1954.

this kind of thing. No Government can, and I hope no reasonable person will, sympathize with this wholly unwarranted strike which may cause much inconvenience and even loss to the public. We must, therefore, face this strike, if it occurs, with vigour.

4 There is the law and order aspect of this strike about which no doubt you will take adequate precautions. What is more important, however, is to help in making adequate arrangements for the Banks to carry on their work, even though this has to be on a somewhat restricted scale. We should be prepared for this for some weeks or a month or more. It would be advisable for the Bank to make some arrangements for a small staff to carry on anyhow even though others might leave. It might even be necessary for Government to help them to carry on. Bankers, though no doubt successful at their particular job, are apt to become panicky. This is absurd and there is no reason for it.

5 We shall, of course, proceed with the Rajadhyaksha enquiry in the normal way regardless of whether the strike takes place or not.

6 I am merely drawing your attention to this matter which must already be under your consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 16

New Delhi  
9 December, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

This letter that I send you every two weeks or so is marked 'Secret'. It is meant to be so. I was, therefore, surprised and distressed to find almost a full copy of my last fortnightly letter, somewhat paraphrased here and there, appearing in the newspapers. If these secret letters reach the press, then it will become difficult for me to write as frankly and fully as I wish to do. I know that these fortnightly letters have a fairly large circulation. Nevertheless, they have not been published thus far. This sudden break through this well-established rule is, therefore, not only embarrassing, but causes me some concern. I would request you, therefore, to take steps so that these letters are kept secret.

2. Events move fast in the world and just as we seem to cross one hurdle, another hurdle looms up before us. I wrote to you that the international situation had eased considerably, in spite of some danger points. There was a marked lessening of tension and it seemed that the great powers were definitely turning away from thoughts of war. The Soviet Union had taken many steps which indicated its desire for a peaceful settlement. The President<sup>1</sup> of the United States of America had also expressed himself more clearly than ever before in favour of peaceful methods and avoidance of war.<sup>2</sup> He even spoke in favour of co-existence of different systems.<sup>3</sup>

1. Dwight David Eisenhower. For b. In. see Vol. 3, p. 187

2. On 19 October 1954, he said, "since the advent of nuclear weapons it seems clear that there is no longer any alternative to peace"

3. On 8 November 1954

3 While, generally speaking, it may still be said that there is no danger of war, there has been a recent development which is serious. This is the question of some American prisoners of war in China who have recently been tried and convicted.<sup>4</sup> Because of this, there has been great excitement in the United States of America and demands have been made for their immediate release. The matter has even been referred to the United Nations. It is stated, on behalf of the United States and supported by the U.K. and other countries, that the detention of the American prisoners in China is a breach of the Korean armistice. The Chinese claim that it is no such breach and that these people were captured in Chinese territory where they had gone for purpose of espionage. They state that some of these prisoners had been parachuted down in Chinese territory, sometimes with wireless sets and other material. In some other cases, it is alleged that American planes over Chinese territory were shot down and their occupants captured.

4 When I was in China, Premier Chou En-lai spoke to me about hundreds of persons who were captured on Chinese territory. Most of these were Formosan Chinese; a few were Americans. It is these few Americans who are the cause of this argument now.

5 I should imagine that an answer to the questions that arise depends on the facts. Without those facts, it is difficult to support either thesis. If it is a fact that these Americans were engaged in espionage in Chinese territory, then it is difficult to see how they can be included in the Korean prisoners of war. On the other hand, it may be shown that they were not spies or were not captured on Chinese territory. Whatever the merits of this case might be, that fact remains that it has become a very serious one which might lead to dangerous consequences. On the Chinese side also

there is much feeling over this matter as well as in regard to the recent treaty between the U.S.A. and Formosa.<sup>5</sup>

6 Gradually, a realization is coming to many people all over the world that the coming of the atomic age has ushered a new and dangerous era. This is so dangerous that if a war occurs, the end might well be almost total destruction. It is now thought by eminent scientists that the effect of the bursting of the hydrogen bombs might so vitiate the atmosphere that vast numbers of people might die a slow death. This, apart from the direct and immediate damage caused. On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly apparent that atomic energy or nuclear energy can become powerful agents for the betterment of humanity. You may have heard that we had a conference on the peaceful use of atomic energy in Delhi.<sup>6</sup> This was of great interest and all those who attended it profited by it. On the whole, India has done well in developing atomic energy with her limited resources. We have a plan now for a more rapid advance. So far as we are concerned, we only think of the peaceful uses of this tremendous source of power.

7 There have been some changes in our Central Council of Ministers.<sup>7</sup> Shri Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>8</sup> has been appointed as Food and Agriculture Minister, and in his place in the Rehabilitation Ministry, Shri Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>9</sup> has been appointed. Shri Mehr Chand Khanna has been engaged in rehabilitation work for several years now and is in intimate touch with every aspect of it. I have suggested to him that he should concentrate on the work in the eastern zone, that is, Bengal, etc., and that he should spend most of his time in Calcutta. That is the major problem for us now

5. The United States and Nationalist China signed a mutual aid security pact on 2 December 1954.

6. On 26-27 November 1954.

7. On 6 December 1954.

8. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 435

9. (1897-1970). Finance Minister, N.W.F.P., 1946-47; adviser, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1948-54; Minister of Rehabilitation, 1954-62, and for Works Housing and Rehabilitation, 1962-64.

in regard to rehabilitation and it requires intensive and concentrated effort. I have also suggested to him that he should not hesitate to increase our staff in Calcutta by transferring people from Delhi or otherwise.

8 Apart from the changes actually made here, you must be aware that Shri Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>10</sup> has agreed to join the Central Cabinet. I am very glad he is coming here as his ripe experience and wisdom will be of great help to us. He will probably join us early in January<sup>11</sup>.

9 There has been a good deal of discussion in the press and elsewhere about our industrial policy and references have been made to differences in the Cabinet.<sup>12</sup> It is quite natural that in discussing these complicated matters of policy there should be somewhat different approaches. As a matter of fact, however, these long discussions led us merely to draw attention to the industrial policy statement issued in April 1948.<sup>13</sup> Some aspects of it were emphasized because there appeared to be a tendency to interpret that resolution rather loosely. I am glad that these discussions took place then and the matter has been clarified to some extent. The main point discussed was about certain basic industries, and more especially iron and steel. The industrial policy statement of 1948 laid it down quite clearly that these few basic industries should be the exclusive responsibility of the State, though, in special cases, the co-operation of others could certainly be invited. In a sense, this decision of ours represented a certain

10. (1887-1961) Chief Minister of U.P., 1937-39 and 1946-55, Union Home Minister, 1955-61.

11. He was sworn in as Minister without Portfolio on 8 January and was appointed Home Minister on 10 January 1955.

12. There were reports in the press on 27 November 1954 of the differences in the Cabinet on interpretation of the industrial policy resolution of 1948. It was speculated that interpreting the resolution so as to include construction of steel mills in the private sector conflicted with Nehru's pronouncements in favour of socialist planning. T. I. Krishnamachari was reported to have resigned from the Cabinet.

basic approach. Iron and steel as well as power are the foundations of all industrial progress. I do not think that we can have any effective planning without fully controlling certain basic industries. We talk about a mixed economy and it seems to me quite inevitable, in existing circumstances, that we should have a mixed economy. But we also look forward to the progressive growth of the public sector. Even more so, we look forward, I hope, to developing a certain pattern which, broadly speaking, can be described as a socialist pattern. Our methods are peaceful and democratic but the objective remains. If that is so, it becomes inevitable that basic industries should be more and more under State ownership or control. This applies most of all to iron and steel. This does not mean, I repeat, that the co-operation of others cannot be sought or obtained.

10. In this connection, you are no doubt aware that a team of Soviet experts is in India at present discussing with us a proposal to start a major steel plant.<sup>14</sup> We have not finalized anything yet, but there is every chance of our doing so as the terms appear to be favourable. This plant will be the second new steel plant that we intend to put up, the first new plant being the one at Rourkela which German technicians are going to set up.

11. All this means a considerable addition to our industrial output. Nevertheless, we are convinced now that even this will not be enough and that we should think in terms of a third new steel plant and of aiming at the production of 6 million tons of steel in the near future. Therefore, there is room for this third new plant and we propose to investigate this.

12. At a recent public meeting,<sup>15</sup> which I addressed in Delhi, I referred to the policies pursued by the Communist Party in India. I pointed out how alien to any nationalistic

14. On 2 February 1955 a Soviet India agreement was signed by which the Soviet Union agreed to set up a steel mill at Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh.

15. On 28 November 1954.

approach was this approach of the Communist Party of India and how it was tied up with certain policies which were essentially based on violence. I also pointed out that each country has to develop itself according to its own genius and in line with the conditions that prevail there. Each country and people is conditioned by its history and experiences. The Soviet Union took shape under a certain set of circumstances. The new China again developed under another set of circumstances and experiences. We in India have been conditioned not only by our long past history but our personal and racial experiences during what might be called the Gandhian era. I am not prepared to criticize or condemn what took place in the Soviet Union or in China, even though I might not like some things that occurred there. But I have the strongest objection to India being made a rootless pale shadow of some other country. That way progress cannot lie for India.

13 You must be aware of the fact that the Communists in India still often say that India is not an independent country and that national liberation has still to be achieved here. During past years, except last August, Communists have objected to our celebrations on August 15.

14 This attitude and approach I consider completely anti-nationalist and harmful. I do not mind if anyone teaches the economic theory of communism peacefully. With much of it we might agree provided it fits in with the special conditions in India and does not go against our basic principles. I see no conflict in this approach.

15 I have said recently that our objective must be that of a Socialist State, that is, of a socialist pattern of society.<sup>16</sup> I believe that this is only the right ideal to have, also that our various differences and disruptive tendencies such as communalism, casteism and provincialism can only be countered

16 On 2 December, Nehru told the Congress Parliamentary Party that in an underdeveloped country like India there could be no other goal than a socialist economy and the country's industrial policy must be regulated accordingly

effectively by this wider approach which leads to a socialist basis of society. But I equally believe in a peaceful and democratic approach and India having full freedom of action in the fashioning of her own destiny. Anything else would be a lack of independence.

16. We talk loosely of the atom bomb and many other things without realizing the enormous significance of what is happening all around us. We live in a high crisis of civilization. It may be called the crisis of industrial civilization. But it is something even more than that. Therefore, it becomes necessary for us to get out of our grooves of thought and think afresh. No repetition of old dogma, whatever it may be, is going to help.

17. The recent elections for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee have come to everyone, including I think the Akali Dal, as a surprise.<sup>17</sup> I know little about them and was in no way directly concerned. I viewed the prospect distantly. It is no concern of mine what the Sikhs or any others do in connection with their religious faith. But it is a very great concern of all of us how far communal and separatist tendencies grow in this country. There can be no doubt that the forces that triumphed in the S.G.P.C. were intensely communal, even though they might not be wholly separatist. They represent a mentality which has no place today in India and which can only lead to evil results. It is a matter of deep sorrow for me that a majority of the Sikhs, who form so vital a part of our country, should be influenced by these communal slogans and the narrow-minded attitude that they represent. If these ideas spread, India will no doubt suffer, but the Sikhs will obviously suffer most of all. No community is going to make progress in India if it clings to this communal approach.

17. In the elections held on 2 and 3 December 1954, the Akali Dal won 111 seats, its Communist ally 22 seats and the Khalsa Dal supported by the Congress 3.

18 I do not take a tragic view of what has happened in the Punjab. But I do take a serious view of it. It may be a good thing that this shock has been administered to us and we have to be very wary in the future. With communalism, casteism and other separatist tendencies, we can make no compromise. The Sikhs, as a vital part of India, must necessarily play an important part in the country. But whatever community it might be, we cannot accept any policy which weakens the State and tends towards separatism. We have had enough experience of this in the past when the Muslim League flourished in India and frustrated our efforts to gain freedom. The activities of the Akali Dal and its leaders are singularly like those of the Muslim League.

19 Whatever progress we might make ultimately depends upon the education given to our people. The foundation of that education is laid at the primary stage. We have repeatedly accepted what is called basic education and yet the progress made in that respect is not satisfactory. Probably Bihar has shown the greatest results. Uttar Pradesh and some other States have a large number of schools which are called basic. They have undoubtedly improved the quality of education, but most of them can hardly be called basic in the sense that the word was intended. We have been discussing this matter recently here and we came to the conclusion that it was of the utmost importance to increase real basic education in the country. Some educationists and others make fun of basic education and one gentleman has even called it "a retreat from civilization." All I can say is that these critics neither understand basic education, nor the modern world. We have to move out of this ivory tower attitude and we have to get moving fast soon. All our Five Year Plans and industrial and other developments depend on this basic foundation of education.

20 I hope to write to you more on this subject soon. But one thing I should like to lay stress on immediately. Unfortunately in many States there is a definite hostility to this basic education and there is no attempt made to covet or

it into higher forms of education. The result is that present basic schools do not fit in with the upper structure. This hiatus has to be removed.

21. We are discussing in Parliament now the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill. I attach great importance to this not only in itself, but because I believe that such a social reform is essential if we have to make progress in an integrated way. It is impossible to have political reform without economic progress. It is equally impossible, I think, to make good politically and economically, unless we make good also in the social sphere.

22. I intend going to Indonesia in the last week of this month for a meeting of the Colombo Powers. At this meeting we shall consider the proposal for an Afro-Asian Conference.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 17

Santiniketan  
24 December, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you from Santiniketan where I have come for the Convocation of Visva-Bharati University of which I am Chancellor. I am very glad that I came here. Visva-Bharati became a University by an act of Parliament some two years ago. We made it clear then that we did not want this to be a replica of other existing universities. We wanted it to carry out, in so far as possible, the purposes and ideals of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. That was no easy matter because an institution like this tends to revolve very much round a great personality and when that personality is no more, there is a terrible gap which cannot be filled. Nevertheless, we have to carry on to the best of our ability. There have unfortunately been difficulties here, both internal and external, and naturally I feel greatly the absence of Gurudev. Still, it is interesting to find that there are students here from a score of other countries. Many come from the countries of Asia, some from Africa, and some from Europe and America. It has thus got a definite international tinge about it. We want to encourage this. Our Education Ministry is anxious to help Visva-Bharati and we have had some talks about it. I hope these talks will bear fruit. Visva-Bharati is a unique institution in India, or for that matter of that elsewhere, and every Indian should be interested in its continuance and progress both because of its special international character and as a monument to Rabindranath.

important measures were considered. In addition to this, there was the Chinese cultural delegation,<sup>1</sup> sixty-six strong. This was a high-class delegation from the cultural point of view and their shows were of very considerable artistic merit. Most of them represented the artistic side of classical China. I am sure that these visits of real cultural delegations from one country to another are of value and they make for greater understanding and appreciation.

3 Then there was the visit of Marshal Tito,<sup>2</sup> President of Yugoslavia. Apart from the many functions that took place, I spent many long hours with him in discussing international and other affairs. The result of these discussions was the joint statement which we issued and which you must have seen. This statement<sup>3</sup> is entirely in line with our foreign policy and I am sure that it will help the cause of peace. Some countries in Asia have already expressed themselves more or less in line with this policy. But this is the first instance when a European country also accepted this policy fully. You will particularly notice three points in this statement. The first is our repudiation of a passive neutral role in world affairs. We work actively and positively for a policy of peace and co-operation. Secondly, we have made it clear that we do not believe in working for the creation of a third bloc or third force. Thirdly, the five principles have been repeated and confirmed. Marshal Tito received a very warm welcome both in Bombay and Delhi, and, no doubt, he will be welcomed in the other parts of India where he goes.

1 The delegation led by the Chinese Vice-Minister of Culture reached New Delhi on 3 December 1954 on a five-week tour of the country.

2 For b fn. see Vol 3, p 405. Tito visited India from 16 December 1954 to 3 January 1955.

3 The statement issued on 23 December 1954 affirmed that the question of the very survival of civilization had rendered acceptance of peaceful co-existence not merely an alternative but an imperative. The signatories declared that "they will widen the area of peace and diminish the terrible prospect of war, promote greater confidence and open up greater opportunities of world peace".

4 In the near future there will probably be an announcement that China and Yugoslavia have agreed to exchange diplomatic missions. In this matter we have been of some help, though I think this would have happened anyhow because of new developments. This is also a move in stabilizing relations between countries and will thus help the cause of peace. As a matter of fact, Yugoslavia was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Government of China as long ago as 1949. It was China that had hesitated to have direct contacts with Yugoslavia. The proposal therefore now came from China and it was, of course, accepted by Yugoslavia. You will have seen that there has been a great improvement in the relations of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union also. Possibly, the change in China's attitude in this respect has been influenced by the Soviet attitude.

5 Yugoslavia occupies a peculiar position. It has treaties of alliance with Greece and Turkey and it has been closely associated, in many ways, with the U.S.A. and other Western countries. But it has kept aloof from the N.A.T.O. alliance. In the economic sphere, it was a backward country like other Balkan countries. It has made considerable progress during the past five or six years in industrialization. In regard to land reforms, it has gone far, but it has not accepted the Soviet policy. Indeed, this was one of the reasons why the two countries fell out. The Yugoslav leaders are Communists but they do not accept the Soviet variety of communism. In fact, they say that Stalinism is a diversion from the original Marxism. The fact is that they have adopted the Marxist doctrine, keeping in view the peculiar circumstances in their own country. More or less, this is so in China also.

6 Because China and Yugoslavia were economically backward countries, to some extent, their problems were similar to ours. But there is one big difference between China and Yugoslavia, apart from the size of the two countries. China has a vast population and thus resembles India. Yugoslavia has no problem of unemployment. In fact, there is a lack of manpower for their big schemes.

7 I am on my way to Indonesia where a meeting of the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India is taking place to consider the proposal to have an Afro-Asian Conference. The principle has been accepted and the details have to be worked out. This is not a very simple matter. Even the question of inviting countries offers great difficulties. Who is to be invited and who should be left out? Any discrimination will naturally lead to irritation and ill will. Apart from the question of the Afro-Asian Conference, the Prime Ministers will, no doubt, discuss recent developments in Asia and, more particularly, in the Far East and in Indo-China. In Indo-China fresh difficulties are continually arising. So far as Cambodia and Laos are concerned, they are separate countries. Vietnam, however, is supposed to decide in 1956 by election as to what its future should be. Meanwhile, it is divided into two parts. There is no doubt that at present the great majority of people would vote for Viet Minh. This is not a pleasant prospect for some countries like the U.S.A. who do not like the idea of Viet Minh extending its domain southwards. As I think I wrote to you previously, South Vietnam is in a bad state politically and economically. It is full of internal conflicts. The mere fact that the Head of the State is Bao Dai who sits in the South of France is itself significant of the present state of Vietnam. On the other side, in Viet Minh there is Dr. Ho Chi Minh, an outstanding personality, beloved of his people. This is an instance of how some of the Western Powers are constantly backing the wrong people and thereby getting into difficulties, just as they are backing Chiang Kai-shek against the People's Government of China. Thus, these Western Powers oppose powerful nationalist movements which are driven to rely upon the Communist countries.

8 Recently, there has been much tension over the question of some American prisoners in China. The U.N. even went

so far as to pass a resolution condemning China.<sup>5</sup> This seemed to us to be a wrong move. It certainly did not make it easier to find a solution because then the prestige of both parties to the dispute became involved. Apart from this, it seems odd that the U.N. should condemn a country unheard of in this connection, the Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr Hammarskjold,<sup>6</sup> is going to China and is likely to pass through Delhi<sup>7</sup> on his way early next month. I am glad that the Chinese Government agreed to this visit.

9 There is tension thus in the Far East. In Europe there is continuing tension over the question of German rearmament. The Soviet Union has warned both France and the U.K.<sup>8</sup> that ratification of the treaty with Germany will result in a denunciation of the Franco-Soviet<sup>9</sup> and the Anglo Soviet<sup>10</sup> treaties. It appears certain now that that treaty will be ratified. As a consequence, the Soviet Union will probably denounce their treaties with France and the U.K. There is no doubt that there is a strong feeling in Eastern Europe over the question of German rearmament. Germany has repeatedly invaded the East European countries and brought havoc there, and naturally they do not like the idea of a powerful German army growing up, probably under the control of the old Nazi officers. The situation is therefore a serious one. Nevertheless, it is unlikely to lead to any major conflict. The world is at last beginning to realize the dangers of such a conflict and no country wants to precipitate it. President Eisenhower has also been speaking against the possibility of war and in fact in favour of co-existence.

5. The U.N. General Assembly on 10 December 1954 also requested the Secretary-General to secure the "release and freedom" of American prisoners in Chinese detention.

6. Dag Hammarskjold (1905-1961) Swedish economist; Secretary-General of the U.N. from 1953 until his death in a crash in the Congo.

10. Economic policy has been very much before the public during the past few weeks. There was a discussion in the Lok Sabha<sup>11</sup> and there have been speeches on it in other places too. I am glad of this great interest in economic policy because the subject is important and complex. Many of us are apt to take a rather academic view, but the realities of the situation are gradually making people think in realistic terms. We have practically committed ourselves to rapid industrial development and to put an end to unemployment in about ten years' time. This is a tremendous decision to take, as we all know the vastness of this unemployment problem. In order to put an end to it we have to develop our industry—heavy, light and cottage industry—in a very big way. That requires investment on a colossal scale and training of personnel. Also, it requires careful planning and balancing. Our second Five Year Plan will have to map out this course.

11. You must have noticed the Finance Minister's announcement about the Imperial Bank which is going to be brought under full control of the State.<sup>12</sup> How exactly this is to be done is going to be considered fully before a final decision is taken. We have also come to the conclusion that steel production must be increased in a big way. We have already agreed to have a steel plant at Rourkela in Orissa with the help of German technicians. We are likely to agree to another plant being erected by Soviet experts.<sup>13</sup> Even these two are not enough and we are beginning to think of a third new plant. The bases of industrial growth are power and steel, apart from skilled manpower.

12. We have talked, and I have often stated, that our objectives are to provide full employment to the people and at the same time to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living. Finally, both these should go together. But it has

11. On 20-21 December 1951

12. C.D. Deshmukh announced on 20 August 1954 that the Government would set up a State Bank of India by amalgamating the Imperial Bank and certain other Banks.

13. See ante p 100

been pointed out that in the course of development it is not only conceivable but highly likely that these two objectives conflict with each other. That is to say, a policy leading to a rapid increase in living standards may not really lead to a rapid decrease in unemployment. In a scientific analysis of what is optimal combination of targets, it might mean a good deal of difference whether we maximize standards of living or minimize unemployment. Thus, some kind of compromise has to be made at various stages.

13 To give an example of this conflict between the two suppose, we have two alternatives to consider and compare, one giving an annual rise in living standards of three per cent together with an annual decrease in unemployment of ten per cent; the other giving an annual rise in living standards of five per cent, but decreasing unemployment by only two per cent. Which are we to choose? The difficulty is a real one and has to be decided at every stage. But in order to decide it one should have a clear picture of the consequences of each course of action. It is here that careful statistical analysis of social and economic phenomena become essential. We are going to be helped greatly in this by the work that is being done by the Indian Statistical Institute<sup>14</sup> near Calcutta on behalf of the Planning Commission.

14 In discussing these problems, which are common to countries like India and China, the ideological approach is far less important than the practical approach. Of course, a country will be influenced by its ideological approach, but ultimately it is the practical considerations of consequences that will prevail. Decisions in regard to these matters have to be taken at the highest level by responsible authorities. It may be, of course, that any decisions taken are not rigid and are varied from year to year slightly.

15 I have mentioned this particular aspect of our problem of unemployment and higher standards of living because this indicates the type of problem that we have to face in coming to decisions. We can no longer proceed in an *ad hoc*

<sup>14</sup> See Vol. 3 p. 478.

way. We have to think out the consequences of every step that we take and prepare for the second and the third step from now onwards. In particular, we have to emphasize the growth of machine-making industry, as well as of training personnel.

16 You will have observed that the Lok Sabha, in considering the economic policy resolution, passed almost unanimously<sup>15</sup> an amendment laying down that the pattern of society to be aimed at should be socialistic. This does not mean our adherence to any rigid or doctrinaire pattern, but it does mean that, broadly speaking, we are aiming at a particular type of society where there will be an approach to equality and where the State owns or controls the means of production. This does not mean that the State should own everything, but it must own or control all the strategic points. There has frequently been an argument about the public and private sectors. That argument discloses somewhat different approaches to the problem. But the argument by itself, without relation to actualities, tends to become unrealistic. It is far better for us to consider these matters from the practical point of view of increasing production and decreasing unemployment and, at the same time, going firmly towards that pattern of society which we aim at. We have to take into consideration all the time the present situation in the country and take advantage of every factor that helps. In this present situation, I have no doubt that the private sector can help considerably and therefore should be allowed, and even encouraged, to help within the broad limits of our planning and general control.

17 Another aspect of this question which is often argued is that of nationalization of existing industries. The Socialist Party lays the greatest stress upon this, as if it was the solvent of all our ills. Our own policy has been repeatedly declared. With limited resources, there is absolutely no point in our applying them merely to acquire State control over existing industries, except when this is considered necessary. It is far

better to apply these existing resources in new plants which are so much needed. Those new plants can be owned by the State.

18. We want to take advantage of all types of initiative and enterprise in the country. We are not sufficiently developed to be able to rely on a State pattern entirely. Also, there is some advantage in having a kind of competition between the public sector and the private. This will keep the public sector up to the mark. There can be no doubt that the public sector has to grow and will dominate the scene.

19. Many people are anxious to see the rapid growth of the public sector. Some even talk about ending private sector and industry. But, oddly enough, where the public sector is functioning today, there is constant criticism, even in regard to small matters. A proposal was made the other day to have a statutory committee in Parliament to supervise the public sector. The proposal was rightly rejected. If the public sector is to function effectively, it has to be given freedom and initiative. Otherwise, it will become a routine Government Department with all the checks and delays which are connected with a Department's working. One cannot have it both ways. It is for this reason that we decided long ago to have our major State enterprises in the form of autonomous corporations so that there is no day to day interference with their work.

20. Parliament or a State Assembly naturally must have the last word and should be entitled to criticize where criticism is necessary. But overdoing this leads to irresponsibility in the people in charge who become afraid of criticism and therefore dare not take any step which might involve some risk. Delays occur and delays are more costly than anything else in a big undertaking.

21. There is much talk of scandals in Government undertakings and undoubtedly there have been instances of defalcation of funds or mismanagement of contracts and the like. Such instances should be enquired into carefully and action taken. In private industry there are plenty of such instances but there is seldom public criticism because the

public is not interested. In the Soviet Union and in China there have been many instances of gross mismanagement and loss to the State. One does not hear of these because criticism is not normally allowed. Suddenly, we hear of big purges and there is a great deal of talk of sabotage, etc. The result in the Soviet Union was that no one dare take responsibility for any decisions for fear of being accused of sabotage in case something went wrong.

22 We must therefore take a balanced view and realize that the process of industrialization in a large way is continually bringing new problems. Our experience is limited, though it is being increased. If errors occur, we should rectify them, but we must not lose perspective.

23 We are continually conducting inquiries in regard to the best way of using our plants and machines. There is little doubt that we are not putting them to the best use at present, and much of their capacity remains unused. This shows lack of co-ordination as well as lack of experience. Recently, we had an inquiry about our ordnance factories which are very good but which have tended to function far too much as Government Departments. Hence, there have been delays and lack of full utilization. The fact is that the methods of Government Secretariats are not suited to working industrial plants. We must change them and we are in fact trying to change them.

24 There is one aspect of too rapid an extension of the public sector which might be borne in mind. That will mean the Government facing labour problems in a large way everywhere. It is better to face these gradually than in bulk. Recently, we had the threat of a bank strike.<sup>16</sup> In view of the circumstances, this seemed to me completely unreasonable. But there it was. Fortunately, this was given up, or suspended, as they say.

25 I think that we must move towards the association of workers in some aspects of management of an industry

<sup>16</sup> The All India Bank Employees  
ber the commencement of the strike

tion announced on 8

Unless workers or their representatives are made to feel their responsibility and realize the problems that we have to face, we cannot get their full support. If they are so associated and realize that the growth of the industry and greater production are to their advantage, as well as to the advantage of the State, then there will hardly be any talk of a strike. But then also the management will have to pay a good deal of attention to the workers' point of view. I think we are apt to ignore that point of view. There is too much of a class division between the ordinary workers, the skilled workers, and the management. If industry is to grow in this country, new ideas are much more likely to come from the technical personnel employed than from the management which functions on a non-technical plane. In fact, the early growth of British industry and the inventions made there came chiefly from the lower technical staff.

26 Even in the U.S.A., many developments towards the workers' association with the management have taken place. In Yugoslavia this has gone very far indeed. In the U.S.S.R., recent reports have indicated that the general managers of big concerns are usually the technical people who have been promoted and they are very efficient as managers.

27 All these factors have to be considered by us, now that we are on the eve of a great development in industry in India.

28 I am writing this letter to you on the eve of Christmas Day. Soon this year 1954 will pass the way of its innumerable predecessors and we shall launch out on a new year. This new year is important from the international point of view. It will indicate whether the emphasis towards a lessening of international tensions continues or whether the shadow of conflict continues to hang over us. In our domestic affairs, the year is obviously important. It will see the formulation of the draft second Five Year Plan. In the course of the year also we are going to have the report of the States Reorganization Commission.<sup>17</sup> What this report is going to

<sup>17</sup> The report was submitted to the Government on 30 September 1955. See also Vol. 3 pp. 373-374.

be, I do not know. But there can be little doubt that it will pose before us a multitude of problems. This business of linguistic provinces is like Pandora's box which was full of evil things which came out when the lid was lifted. These questions will be a severe test for us as a nation. Do we hold together firmly and see things from a larger point of view and proper perspective, or are we too provincial and communal-minded and caste-ridden to make any great progress?

29. I am sending this letter to Delhi for issue. As I am going away to Indonesia, I shall be unable to sign it myself. I hope you will not mind.

All good wishes to you and to your State in the New Year.

Yours sincerely,

# 18

New Delhi  
13 January, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last from Santiniketan, I have been to Indonesia for the conference of the five Colombo Powers' Prime Ministers. The conference was brief and businesslike and I am glad to say that there was a good deal of harmony. We came to certain conclusions about the convening of the Asian-African Conference,<sup>1</sup> which you must have seen in the papers.

2. This proposed conference has attracted a good deal of attention of foreign countries. In fact, it has been considered an event of historic significance. I think this interpretation is correct, though there is no intention on the part of the sponsors to create any kind of grouping or bloc or indeed to enter into highly controversial issues.<sup>2</sup> The mere fact of a large number of Asian countries as also some African countries meeting together in this way indicates that Asia has opinions of her own and intends to make them heard. Thus far there has been too much of a tendency in Europe and America to take things for granted in Asia and to dispose

1. The Prime Ministers stated that the object of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference would be to promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to consider their social, cultural and economic problems including the problems of special interest affecting their people such as racialism and colonialism; and to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world today and the contribution they could make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. This had been suggested by some sections in the West. For example, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of U.S.A. wrote on 2 January 1955 that obviously the objective is not only a third bloc but a powerful bargaining unit to hold out for the highest price in Russo-American petition

of Asian questions without too much reference to what people in Asia think. There is not enough awareness of the fact that Asia has changed and is continually changing and has views of its own. The general effect of this announcement about the conference has thus been to wake up these Western Powers to certain realities of the situation.

3. I do not know how many of the invitees are going to accept and attend the conference. I imagine, however, that most of them will do so, because few would like to be left out from this historic conference. You will observe that the countries invited are a very mixed lot from various points of view. They do not represent the same viewpoint in international affairs and some of them are definitely allied to this group or that. Broadly speaking, they are under-developed countries, except for Japan.

4. Some criticisms have been made: Why was Israel not invited? Why have Australia and New Zealand been left out and why were the two Koreas not invited?

5. The principle we laid down was that all independent countries in Asia and Africa should be invited. Australia and New Zealand were not in this region and therefore the question of their invitation was not even considered. There was no objection to their being invited and in fact if they are desirous of attending, there will probably be no difficulty in extending the area somewhat and inviting them.

6. As for Israel, undoubtedly, according to definition, it was entitled to an invitation. We did not decide on our invitations by our likes or dislikes as Israel is functioning today as an independent country and a member of the U.N. But because of the strong opposition of the Arab countries, Israel was left out. In the balance one had to choose whether we would have Israel or the Arab countries.

7. The two Koreas were on the borderline and it was decided not to invite them.

8. We have had a visit<sup>3</sup> recently from the Secretary-General

of the United Nations, Dr. Hammarskjold, on his way to China. I had long talks with him in Delhi. It is not quite clear yet what transpired in Peking. But I think it is clear that the Chinese Government has gained a diplomatic victory by this visit. Gradually, China is coming into the international picture in spite of non-recognition by many important Powers. Reality cannot be ignored for too long

9 Two of our important and valued colleagues have died during the last few days—Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar<sup>4</sup> and Colonel Raghbir Singh,<sup>5</sup> the Chief Minister of Pepsu. Colonel Raghbir Singh had played an important part in Pepsu in difficult circumstances and it is very unfortunate indeed that he should have died at this moment. Dr. Bhatnagar can truly be said to have built up our great structure of scientific laboratories in India. He has left as a memorial thirteen magnificent National Laboratories and Institutes. I am quite sure that but for him these laboratories would have still been in some early stage of building. I have seldom come across a more dynamic person who had the capacity to get things done. His loss to us is great

10 Three days ago, certain changes took place in the Central Cabinet.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Kailash Nath Katju<sup>7</sup> has taken charge of the Defence portfolio and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant is now in charge of the Home Ministry which includes the Ministry of States. Dr. Katju has, of course, been with us as a valued colleague for some years past. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant's coming to the Central Cabinet is a great gain to us, and to me especially.

4. (1895-1955). Fellow of the Royal Society; Professor of Chemistry, University of Punjab, Lahore, 1924-40; Director of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, 1940-51; Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, 1951-55. He died on 1 January 1955.

5. (1894-1955). In police service, Patiala state, 1915-24; Home Minister, Patiala state, 1936-39, and of Pepsu, 1949, Chief Minister, Pepsu, 1952-53 and 1954-55. He died on 7 January 1955.

6 On 10 January 1955

7 F r h s n s e V 2 n 523

11 A meeting<sup>8</sup> of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council took place soon after my return from Indonesia. This meeting considered the progress of work thus far done and also certain initial steps to be taken in regard to the second Five Year Plan. This Plan is likely to mark a big departure for us. There is all-round realization now that the pace of our progress must be faster, more especially in regard to the removal of unemployment and increasing production. While we are concerned with a variety of political problems, both national and international, our thinking is becoming directed more and more towards social and economic problems. Foreign observers from other countries have become aware of this fact and they have pointed this out as a measure of our growth. After all, the real problems that a country faces are social and economic. Politics are an unavoidable nuisance. We in India, and to some extent other countries in Asia, are on the eve of an industrial revolution. Circumstances compel us to bring about this change rapidly. There is no comparable example elsewhere of the problem we have to face in India. In the industrialized Western countries, these changes have taken place in the course of one hundred and fifty years or more. In the Soviet Union, they have been hastened. But, even so, they have taken over a generation. A major factor in the Soviet Union, however, is the presence of vast spaces with a relatively small population. In India we are a heavily populated country and there is not much free land available. We have to deal with this vast population and take it many steps ahead in quick time. A comparison can only be made with the problem as it faces China today, because China also is a big under-developed country with a vast population.

12 It is this mighty problem that is beginning to absorb our attention to the exclusion of other problems. Indeed, we will come nowhere to solving it if our time and energy are spent in political disputes. The second Five Year Plan will

represent our approach to the solution of this problem. Obviously the full solution will take time, much more than five years or even ten years. But if we plan well and make good to some extent in the course of the next few years, then future progress will be assured.

13. Planning thus becomes of high importance and has to be approached in an organized way of dealing with physical needs and supplying them, of balancing our production with the money invested, of balancing heavy industry with light industry and cottage industry. The approach thus becomes much less financial and much more in terms of physical needs and conditions. Finance becomes a relatively secondary factor, although it is still important.

14. Our Planning Commission has a vital role to play at this stage, naturally with the full co-operation of our Government. The Planning Commission is also having very valuable assistance from our Indian Statistical Institute, working under Professor P.C. Mahalanobis,<sup>9</sup> who has invited a large number of foreign experts in planning and statistics from about a dozen countries. We have thus got the advantage of the advice of many experienced and eminent men. I hope that we shall profit by this and produce a plan which bears some relation to the vast problem we have to face. The question which we have ultimately to answer is the progressive removal of unemployment till we have full employment and, at the same time, raising of standards of our people. I mentioned in my last letter that there might be some conflict in the emphasis to be laid on these two factors. Probably there is no real conflict if planning is properly done. In any event, I think that emphasis has to be on the removal of unemployment.

15. Many of us are dissatisfied with the rate of progress in the past. That is right because we should always aim high. But the fact is that there is general agreement among competent observers abroad and in this country that we have done remarkably well thus far and laid strong foundations

eed, Indian planning and the work we have suddenly caught the imagination of a world. It is for us now to make good the promise we have aroused and the promises we are making prospect and an adventure worthy of.

42nd Session of the Indian Science Congress at Baroda<sup>10</sup> and I had the privilege to

My dear Chief Minister was attended by a large number of men abroad.<sup>11</sup> Indian scientists also were

I am writing this letter in considerable numbers. It was obvious that we have yet seen no real fairly good pace in science. The India. But I have seen how far we can join our scientific numbers of other types of planning and development. This is celebrations are by now. It is necessary that we should bring days. But the great strength and ability that we possess in various 2. This parade, five connected with our want, therefore, the largest measure of and widened its scope and planning covers the entire field of the

and last year a large shape of planning in the future, it is from schools also to production of power and of steel are further addition, and if we have to have industrial developments and trade unions both these. To some extent, we have participated.

3. This whole parade moving sight It seems unity of India in its greatest on the march. There present, including some the spectators. They were then can I say of the march? heart was filled with pride on the march realizing a sense of fulfilment in the destiny. It was a happy 55.

trade unions, peasants, attended by 50 foreign delegates among whom are all of them parts of the -Prof. P.A.M. Dirac (Britain), Prof. Paul common destiny f Linus Pauling (U.S.A.)

with which British engineers and others are concerned. We may even consider a fourth.

18 Some concern is felt in the country at the fall in the prices of foodgrains and Government are taking some measures in regard to this to ensure stabilization. These prices will have to be watched carefully. We need not however be alarmed. A way to meet this is to go ahead with our development plans in a big way.

19 I am leaving Delhi soon for South India for the session of the National Congress at Avadi<sup>12</sup> near Madras and, on my way, I shall spend two days in the Andhra State where elections are going to be held.<sup>13</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

12 Held on 21-23 January 1955.

13 Andhra State Assembly el were held on 11 February 1955

# 19

New Delhi  
26 January, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you at the end of our Republic Day. I have yet seen no news of the celebrations in other parts of India. But I have witnessed myself, in common with vast numbers of other people, the celebrations in Delhi. Those celebrations are by no means over because they last several days. But the great parade took place this morning.

2 This parade, five years ago, was almost entirely an affair connected with our Defence Forces. Since then it has grown and widened its scope. A cultural pageant was attached to it and last year a large number of boys and girls and children from schools also took part in it. This year, there was a further addition, and representatives of all kinds of occupations and trade unions as well as of tribal peoples, participated.

3 This whole parade and pageant was a magnificent and moving sight. It seemed to represent India in miniature, the unity of India in its great diversity, and India confident and on the march. There were many foreign representatives present, including some delegations from abroad, among the spectators. They were all powerfully impressed. What then can I say of the impression produced on an Indian? My heart was filled with pride and joy at this sight of our nation on the march realizing its goals one by one. There was a sense of fulfilment in the air and of confidence in our future destiny. It was a happy idea, on this occasion, to include trade unions, peasants, tribal people and even nomads. They are all of them parts of this country of ours and sharers in our common destiny.

4 I hope that I can view a situation objectively and not allow my wishes to dominate my thoughts. Recently, I have had the definite and ever-growing sensation of a change in the atmosphere of India. There are still many critics and many people whose chief function is to decry our achievements. But, by and large, the sensation is growing in this country that we are making good progress and going ahead. The old feeling of frustration is rapidly disappearing and in its place there is something new, something vital and dynamic, something that is full of promise for the future.

5 There is also, and this is a recent growth, a feeling that we are taking a new step and giving a new turn to our policy. The Lok Sabha gave a definite lead to this by stating that we should aim at a socialistic pattern of society.<sup>1</sup> Now the Congress has accepted this with enthusiasm and has called upon our planners to keep this in view<sup>2</sup> and proceed to plan on a physical basis. I have no doubt that this new turn, which though not very new, is nevertheless a new and marked emphasis, has been welcomed in the country and widely appreciated. Perhaps this has added to this feeling of self-confidence and created a certain dynamism in the situation.

6 The Congress session at Avadi in Madras was undoubtedly a tremendous and heartening affair. I am not for the moment speaking merely as a Congressman, though as such I am proud of this last session, but rather as an Indian watching and participating in great national movements. The Congress has, as it has often done before, come to a realization of the realities of the situation in India and assumed the lead. The Congress is not an academic body or

1 See *ante*, p. 112

2 The resolution passed on 21 January 1955 stated that in order to realize the objectives laid down in the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State policy of the Constitution of India, "planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth."

one that indulges in adventurist action. It may be sometimes slow in movement because it does not concern itself with a few believers but rather with the mass of the people. The Congress action, therefore, in this respect has a much wider significance than the mere expression of the wish of a group. It can be said without a doubt that the Congress resolutions on our future goal and on economic planning<sup>3</sup> as well as the other resolutions,<sup>4</sup> represent the organized expression of mass thinking in India. They are based, therefore, on reality and on the facts of the situation. This of course casts a great responsibility on both the Congress and our various Governments, Central as well as State, and all of us will have to work our hardest to fulfil the expectations that have been raised.

7 These expectations are connected with many activities, but principally they have to do with the planning of our second Five Year Plan. I have already written to you about the various activities of the Planning Commission and about a number of foreign experts who have been considering our problems in this new context. Tomorrow morning, the Planning Commission is meeting many of these experts for a full discussion which, I am sure, will be fruitful. It seems clear, however, that future planning has to be on the physical basis.

8 I have no desire to make invidious comparisons with other countries. But, looking round the countries of Asia and comparing them with India today, there can be little

3 The economic policy resolution adopted on 22 January 1955 recorded satisfaction at the improvement in food situation, progress of river valley schemes, community development projects and national extension service, called for higher production to reduce unemployment within 10 years, for "equitable distribution", and for establishment of socialist economy" in which the public sector should play the main role in setting up of basic industries while the private sector functioned as per the requirements of the plan.

4. The other resolutions endorsed India's foreign policy, called for fostering national unity, abolition of caste system and all social and legal disabilities affecting women, speedy implementation of land reforms and extension of co-operatives and strengthening of party discipline.

doubt that the advantage lies greatly with India. It is a little difficult for any comparisons to be made with China and, undoubtedly, China has made considerable progress in recent years. But the difference between India and the other Asian countries is very marked, both in the political and the economic spheres and, I would add, the cultural sphere also. It is no small matter that we are advancing on this cultural front. This cultural development is not confined to the select few but is something that is affecting the wide masses. That shows the strength and vitality of these new forces which are changing our country.

9. I have been repeating, in public and private, that the international situation has improved and there has been a lessening of tension. I am sorry to say that I cannot repeat that statement now. There is no doubt that recent weeks have added to these tensions and, in fact, we are facing today a somewhat explosive situation in the Far East. This is connected with Formosa and the coastal islands of China.<sup>5</sup> A statement made by President Eisenhower two days ago has suddenly brought matters to a head.<sup>6</sup> American policy in the Far East has not shown any continuity or indeed, if I may say so, much logic. After the World War, it was clearly stated on behalf of America that Formosa was a part of China. Even after the Communist success in China, this was repeated by the State Department of the United States. A change, however, crept in later and, when the Korean war began, President Truman<sup>7</sup> ordered the Seventh U.S. Fleet<sup>8</sup> to guard

5. Air attacks by the Chinese followed by capture of Yikiangshan, one of the coastal islands, led to retaliatory attacks by the Nationalists

6. On 24 January 1955, Eisenhower asked the Congress for immediate action to authorize measures, including the use of American armed forces, to assure the security of Taiwan and the Pescadores islands. He also told the Congress that until legislators could act, he would not "hesitate so far as my constitutional powers extend to take whatever emergency action might be forced upon us in order to protect the rights and the security of the United States."

7 H S T                  For b fn. see Vo 1 p 11

8 On 27 June 1950 See Vo 2 p 184

the China Seas and prevent any attack either by China on Formosa or by Formosa on the Chinese mainland. This statement was particularly related to the Korean war. After the conclusion of the Korean war, President Eisenhower issued fresh orders<sup>9</sup> to the Seventh Fleet saying that, while it should prevent a Chinese attack on Formosa, it should not come in the way of a Formosan attack on China. This was a definite variation of the old policy and orders.

10. There are a large number of coastal islands of China and many of these are at present occupied by Formosa with the help of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. These islands have been used as bases for attack on China. Quite apart from the major question of Formosa, it is clear that no Chinese Government can possibly tolerate such continuing attacks on the mainland from neighbouring islands which it claims. There has been a petty war going on over these islands and recently the Chinese Government took possession of one of them. Logically speaking, they were entitled to do so. So far as we are concerned, and this applies to every country recognizing the People's Government of China, we do not recognize the Formosan Government. Indeed, nobody has thus far considered Formosa as a separate State. Formosa claims to be China. The question, therefore, is which is China.

11. While the situation on the coastal islands was progressively worsening, the issue of the American airmen in China suddenly became important. The U.N. without giving China even a chance to have a say, condemned China in this matter.<sup>10</sup> This was, according to our thinking, wholly a wrong procedure, even apart from the merits. Now comes President Eisenhower's statement which goes farther than any previous official declaration of the U.S. Government.

12. At present the U.S. and China have both officially and publicly adopted policies which are wholly opposed to each other. Both are committed to them and this means that there

9. On 2 February 1953 See Vol 3 pp 258-259

0 See ante p 109



At Bandung, 18 April 1955



At Tashkent, 14 June 1955



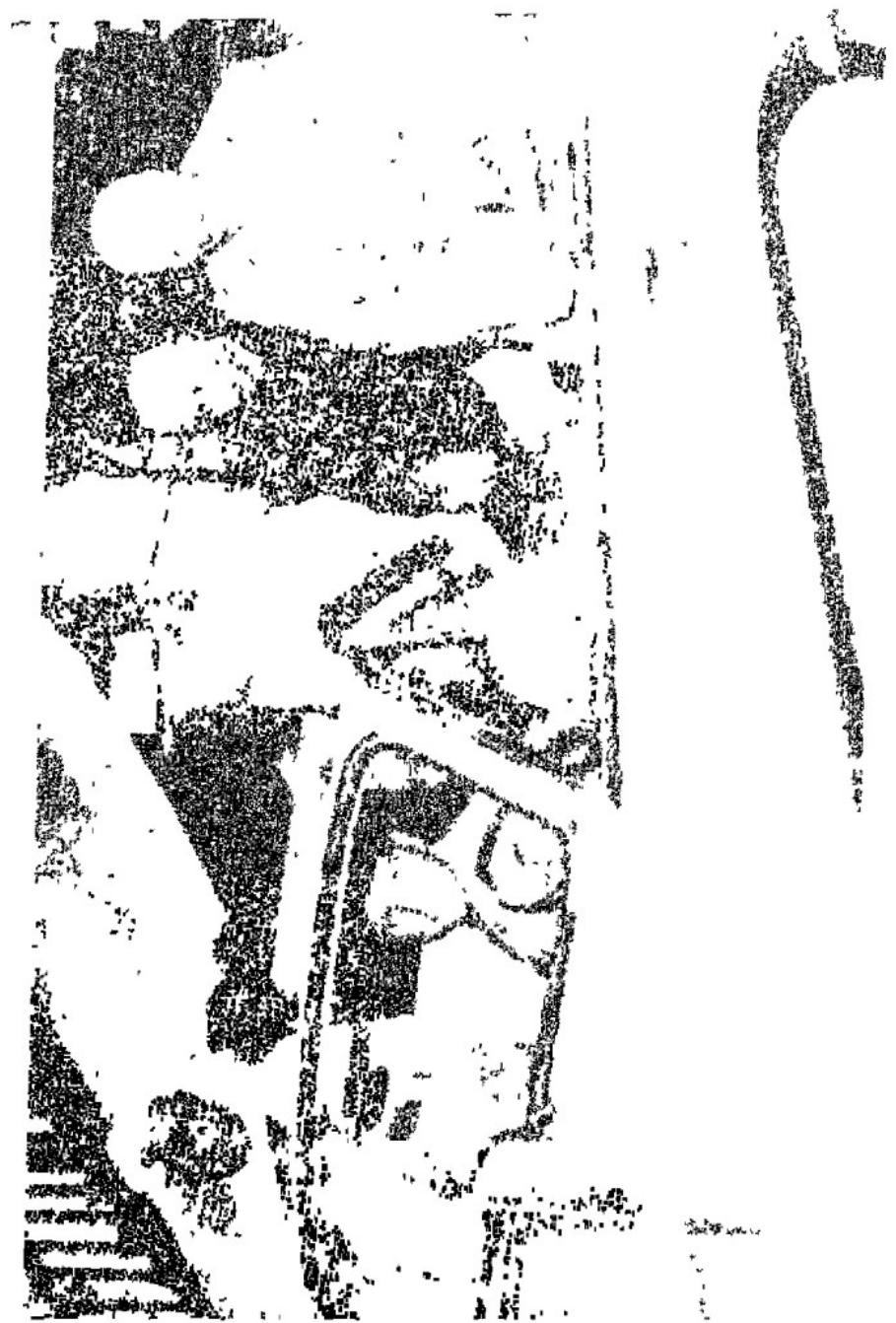
With Marshal Tito and Madame Jovinka Broz Begrac







the Bharat Ratna from President  
Nehru, New Delhi, 7 September 1955



is not much room for any kind of a compromise. Meanwhile the situation grows worse and the danger of a possible war looms ahead again.

13 It appears to be a belief in American circles that China can be coerced by threats. Also that the Chinese people, or a large part of them, will rise against their own Government if they are given a chance. Both these beliefs are completely without foundation and I am quite sure that the Chinese Government will not submit, in any matter vital to them, whatever the consequences.

14 There is a proposal to refer the matter to the U.N. Security Council as one involving a breach of peace.<sup>11</sup> I cannot say what will happen. Here again we come up against the paradox of the U.N. being compelled by circumstances to deal with China and, at the same time, not recognizing the new China.

15 As you know, I am going to England soon.<sup>12</sup> In fact, I shall be in London within three days from now. Naturally this new development in the Far East will be the most urgent matter to be considered.

16 Yesterday, the Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, came to Delhi accompanied by two of his Ministers, General Iskander Mirza<sup>13</sup> and our old friend Dr Khan Sahib. It is unusual for us to invite any foreign Head of State for our Republic Day celebrations. But we made an exception in this case as we were anxious to demonstrate our friendly approach to Pakistan. I am glad they have come here and been welcomed by us. These visits do not lead to the solution of any big problem, but they certainly prepare the atmosphere for a more friendly and co-operative approach. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, the Governor-General, is obviously the person who yields the

11. On 19 January 1955, Eisenhower said that he would like to see the United Nations try to arrange a ceasefire between the Nationalists and the Communists.

2 On 28 January 1955

13 For b In see Vol 3 p 567

greatest authority in Pakistan at present. He is in ill-health. It is difficult for him to walk and even his speech is difficult to follow because of his infirmity. I have been surprised at and have admired his great courage in shouldering his heavy responsibilities in spite of his bodily weaknesses and failings.

17. I would remind you that January 30th will be a Day of Remembrance for those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of India's freedom. At 11 O'clock that day there should be a two-minute silence everywhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 20

New Delhi  
23 February, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

wrote my last letter to you almost on the eve of my departure for England. I returned five days ago and, since then, I have been trying to catch up with arrears of work and to pick up old threads again.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference<sup>1</sup> in London coincided accidentally with the development of a grave crisis in the Far East. This was in connection with Formosa and the off-shore islands of China. It was natural, therefore, for the Prime Ministers' Conference to pay much attention to this crisis. We discussed it at some length and there was some difference of opinion.<sup>2</sup> But there was also a measure of agreement. All of us were very anxious to help in lessening the tension and finding some way which might lead to negotiation between the parties concerned. We did not succeed in this. Nevertheless, it did all of us good to hear the viewpoints of the others. Thus, we could form a better picture of the situation.

It was natural for the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to be nearer to the American viewpoint and to understand it better. China was still a far-off country to them, which had indulged in a revolution

producing awkward situations. To some extent, it fell to me to represent what might be called the Asian point of view. I am not referring particularly to the question of Formosa but rather to the general ferment in Asia which is one of the striking features of the present age. I pointed out that this basic upheaval of men's ideas and their urges in Asia must be understood. It did little good to think of Asia as it was previously, rather static and unchanging. Asia was dynamic today and, to some extent, even explosive, and unless we understand this, we shall be unable to deal with any of its problems adequately. It was in this context that I wanted the Far East situation to be considered. Pakistan and Ceylon were partly in agreement with what I said, though they did not lay so much stress on this aspect.

4. So far as the Formosa situation was concerned, for a country that had recognized the new China, it followed naturally that Formosa should be part of it. That indeed was in keeping with the numerous statements made during and after the World War. At the same time, present facts had to be recognized and some peaceful way out found for a negotiated settlement. That was our attitude. Most of the countries did not go quite so far as this and did not wish to commit themselves in regard to Formosa's future. They considered it undetermined although, I have little doubt, they felt that ultimately it would have to go to China. The fact, however, of the United States' strenuous objection to the very idea of Formosa going to China was an effective barrier to their thinking. The result was that they concentrated on the coastal or offshore islands and wanted these islands to be evacuated by the Kuomintang troops. If this was done without conflict, the chances of untoward incidents would lessen very greatly. There would then be nearly a hundred miles of sea between China and Formosa, and further developments could be considered at leisure. We were all agreed that these offshore islands, more especially Quemoy and the Matsu islands, should be evacuated as soon as possible.

5. The American attitude was by no means clear. Recently

Mr. Dulles<sup>3</sup> has spoken at some length and has perhaps clarified the U.S. position a little,<sup>4</sup> though even now it is full of ambiguity. He has stated that Quemoy and Matsu islands are not necessary for American strategy, but he has added that if they are attacked, the U.S. Navy would defend them. He has further made it clear that the Kuomintang Government of Formosa is not willing to evacuate them. There the matter rests at present. The situation is obviously full of danger. On the one side, the Chinese proclaim loudly and repeatedly that they will attack and seize not only these islands but Formosa itself. On the other hand, the Americans appear to be determined to prevent this. Meanwhile, attack and counterattack continue in some small measure. There is always a danger of something happening which may lead to an explosion on a bigger scale. President Eisenhower has referred<sup>5</sup> to Formosa as the spearhead of their strategic defence. If that is so many thousands of miles away from the United States, then it is legitimate for the Chinese to think that Formosa is much more necessary for their defence.

6. I think that the Americans are afraid that if the coastal islands are evacuated, the Kuomintang forces in Formosa would be demoralized and might even crack up. This is certainly a possibility. This indicates that the present regime in Formosa has little inner strength and is bolstered up by external forces. One might perhaps compare it, though the parallel is not exact, to an old Indian state or some other kind of subordinate state. It is difficult to imagine that this

3. John Foster Dulles. For b. fn see Vol 2, p 567.

4. On 6 February 1955, Dulles said that "the United States has no commitment and no purpose to defend the coastal islands as such. The basic purpose is to assure that Formosa and the Pescadores will not be forcibly taken over by the Chinese Communists." He reiterated that the U.S. armed forces had not been used to help the Kuomintang defend the Tachen islands, but only to evacuate the islands and regroup their forces, thus avoiding a body and was ef baue

5. On 24 January 955

kind of situation can last or be stabilized for long, more especially in the Asia of today.

7 You must have seen the proposal made on behalf of the Soviet Government to have a conference<sup>6</sup> sponsored by the U.K., U.S.S.R., and India. The snag about this proposal was and is that the Formosa Government was left out. The U.S. would not agree to this, apart from their dislike of a conference itself. The Chinese Government would, on no account, agree to the inclusion of Formosa. Here was another absolute deadlock.

8 Our approach has been that before any formal conference is convened, informal approaches might be made so as to lessen the tension and to enable some formula to be evolved which would lead to negotiation. This matter might be said to be still pending. But, for the moment, I see little hope of success in this direction.

9 The situation in the Far East and the possibility of war have made us all consider again the nature of modern warfare with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. We talk rather glibly about the hydrogen bomb, etc., but few realize what the use of these weapons will mean. Yet, those who know, including eminent Generals as well as scientists, are clear that war can only result in terrible ruin. It can achieve no other result. In spite of this certainty, we hover on the edge of war.

10 Various military pacts and alliances are made which are obviously the result of military thinking. There was the Manila treaty and there is now a meeting at Bangkok<sup>7</sup> of those who signed that treaty. There has recently been talk of a Turco-Iraq military pact<sup>8</sup> and efforts are being made to

6. In their note to the British Government on 4 February 1955, the Soviet Government proposed a conference of the nations to be held either at Shanghai or at New Delhi

7. From 23 to 25 February 1955.

8. The pact signed on 24 February 1955 stipulated that the signatories would undertake to co-operate against any aggression from within

u de ikeep ng w th t e prov si ns of he I N Chartie

extend it so as to include Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, etc. I fail to understand what good these little pacts and alliances can do either in war or in peace. One thing they certainly do is to vitiate the atmosphere and to bring conflict and bitterness. The proposed Turco-Iraq pact has irritated Egypt greatly<sup>9</sup> and is breaking up the Arab League.<sup>10</sup> In the nuclear age in which we live, these small countries with their little armies, etc., can make no difference in a military sense.

11 On my return from England, I spent two days in Cairo<sup>11</sup> and had long talks with the Prime Minister<sup>12</sup> and other Ministers of the Egyptian Government. These talks disclosed a similarity of outlook in many matters. That similarity was no doubt partly the result of the Egyptian reaction to the Turco-Iraq pact. But it was something more than that. Egypt's leaders had undoubtedly matured since I saw them last nineteen months earlier. Colonel Gamal Nasser, the Prime Minister, creates an impression of integrity and sincerity as well as of greater maturity. He and his colleagues talked to me much more about planning and economic matters than of politics. That itself showed a certain growth in their thinking as well as greater stability in the country. They were much attracted to our planning in India and the progress we had made and wanted me to tell them all about it. It is likely that the Deputy Prime Minister<sup>13</sup>

9 The Egyptian Government opposed the pact on the ground that it would compromise Arab solidarity and violate the Arab Collective Security Pact.

10 The League of Arab States was formed in 1945 to provide a forum for political expression to the Arab nations and co-ordinate activities beneficial to member States on subjects like education, finance, law, trade and foreign relations and resolve differences between them through negotiations. The Heads of Governments of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia met at Cairo for a fortnight from 22 January to discuss the new pact in all its aspects.

11 15 to 17 February 1955

12 G.A. Nasser (1918-1970) Egyptian Army Officer who took part in the military coup which deposed King Farouk, Deputy Premier of Egypt 1953, Prime Minister 1954-56 and President 1956-70.

13 Gamal Sa'en

of Egypt will visit India soon to study our planning and governmental structure. He was also interested to find out something about our party structure.

12 The developments in the Middle East indicate the growth of American influence and the gradual lessening of British influence. The United Kingdom, after resisting this trend for some time, now appears to be falling in line with it.

13 In Pakistan, there have been rather strange developments. The Sind Chief Court has held that the Governor-General's proclamation dissolving the Constituent Assembly was illegal.<sup>14</sup> This has produced a very curious situation and no one quite knows what future developments might be. Pakistan, both politically and economically, is in a state of flux and uncertainty. There is much talk of military alliances with West Asian countries, but the inner situation appears to deteriorate. This is a lesson for us as well as for other countries. Real strength lies within the country and cannot be borrowed from outside.

14 Whatever the state of the Pakistan Government might be, there is no doubt that a marked change has come over popular feelings in Pakistan as well as in India. The old bitterness has gone and there is a definite desire to make friends. The recent cricket test match in Lahore<sup>15</sup> was attended by tens of thousands of Indians who had crossed over from East Punjab. Visa rules and regulations had been relaxed for this purpose. The Pakistanis treated the Indians with great friendliness and cordiality, and there were many touching reunions. This is a basic improvement which is a happy sign.

15. The situation in Indo-China has deteriorated in recent weeks. There have been developments in all the States which give us some anxiety. In Cambodia, the King had a referendum<sup>16</sup> on the question of monarchy. He got some-

14. The Sind Chief Court on 9 February 1955 upheld the petition challenging the Governor-General's proclamation of 24 October 1954.

15. From 29 January to 3 February 1955

16. Held on 7 February 1955

thing like 98 per cent votes in favour of monarchy, but the whole procedure about this referendum was open to question.<sup>17</sup> and there was no secrecy about voting.

16. In another seven weeks' time, we shall have the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. The mere fact of this conference meeting is of the highest importance, whatever it might do. It is some kind of a small U.N. It is viewed with much apprehension in some of the countries of the West. Even in normal times, this conference would have attracted a great deal of attention. At present, with the Formosa crisis, the importance of this conference becomes even greater.

17. I find that during my absence from India, there has been some controversy about the Congress decision to have a socialist pattern of society.<sup>18</sup> Some have said that this is just bluff and a vote-catching device. Some have been frightened by this definite advance in the Congress policy. We can argue about this matter of course, but it is really what we do that will count. I have no doubt that the resolutions of the Avadi Congress have been welcomed by the general public in India. They have raised the Congress morale and made people realize that the Congress is very much a living and dynamic organization. This step taken by the Congress has to be consolidated fully in our people's minds and in our actions. All our development and planning should proceed now on this basis. There is no need for any persons to fear this development, unless they belong to an out-of-date era when unrestricted private enterprise was believed in.

18. Some time ago, our community projects administration sent you a long note on community development. I have no doubt you must have read it. I would like to draw your

17. On the eve of the referendum the police had raided all newspaper offices in Phnom-Penh, suppressed news published in newspapers belonging to Opposition groups and arrested some journalists.

18. For example, Acharya Vinoba Bhave had termed the resolution as vague and Ajoy Ghosh of the Communist Party had termed it as a hoax and a vote-catching device. See *ante* p. 125

particular attention to it, and I hope your officers will make a special study of it. This community programme is something unique in India, and it has drawn world attention. It is going to be of enormous benefit to our people.

19. From time to time, there is an agitation for legislation to ban cow slaughter. It is even reported that some States are considering this matter. I should like to make it clear that, so far as the Central Government is concerned, it considers any such legislation unwise and inexpedient. Indeed, there is an apprehension that such legislation will really be not to the advantage of protecting our best cattle. The mere fact of a continuing agitation should not make us adopt a course which is not a right one. I think we should go to the public and explain the position quite clearly. Our public understands when anything is put in clear language to them. At any rate, that is my experience. I am very anxious to protect our cattle wealth in the country, and I have often written to you about it. But the way to do so is not by legislation to ban cow slaughter.

20. During my absence from India, the Travancore-Cochin Government fell,<sup>19</sup> and the Andhra elections started. These elections are still taking place, and the final results will not be known for another ten or twelve days. In Travancore-Cochin a new Government has been formed.<sup>20</sup> Some criticism has been made on the ground that the retiring Chief Minister's advice to dissolve the Assembly was not followed. I think this criticism is not justified in principle and much less so in the particular circumstances of the case in Travancore-Cochin. Even in the United Kingdom, it was for long doubtful whether this principle invariably applied. But circumstances there are different. There are two major parties. However, in Travancore-Cochin we had the odd spectacle of the Government party being 18 only in a House of 118. By no principle or convention could it be considered

19. On 8 February 1955, the Praja-Socialist Ministry was voted out of power after ten months and it resigned two days later.

20. P Govinda Menon became Chief Minister on 14 February 1955.

proper for the leader of a party of 18 to demand, as of right, a dissolution, when there was a possibility of a majority Government being formed.

21. About one thing, however, I should like to express my opinion quite clearly. I do not like attempts to induce individuals to leave their parties and join another. I do not mean to say that this has happened. But this matter has been raised publicly, and I think we should be clear about it. It is natural in a changing situation for individuals to change their opinions or to change their parties. But that should be left to a natural process and should not be brought about by any kind of inducement.

22. My visit to Europe brought before me even more than before, the great position that India occupies in the minds of people abroad. You may have heard that Dr. Ollenhauer,<sup>21</sup> leader of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, came to London specially to see me. I had no desire to be entangled in the German problem of rearmament, although it is one of the vital problems of the day. I met him, of course, though informally, and had a long talk with him. He is a very prominent Opposition leader of Germany today. In our talks, he explained to me his position and his views, which, according to him, were supported by large numbers of people in Germany. He wanted Great Power talks with the Soviet Union about the future of Germany. He was naturally opposed to Germany remaining partitioned into two States. It was not for me to make any commitments, and I listened to him.

23. Soon after, Chancellor Adenauer<sup>22</sup> of West Germany expressed a wish to see me. No doubt, he felt that I should have the other viewpoint placed before me. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to meet him.

21. Erich Politiker Ollenhauer (1901-1963)

22. Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967). Lawyer and member of the Catholic Centre Party Member Provincial Diet of Rhine Province 1917-33; co-founder of the Christian Democratic Union 1945 and its President, 1946-66. Illor of West Cey 919-6

24. On my way back from London, I met M. Mendes-France, the retiring Prime Minister of France.<sup>23</sup> He was good enough to come to the airport to see me, and I had a long talk with him. I was much impressed by him. I am sure that he will play an important part in France in the future, even though he is ceasing to be Prime Minister now.

25. Parliament began its new session on the 21st February. We have, as usual, a heavy programme with the budget, etc. I attach special importance to the constitutional amendment and to the Hindu Law Reform Bills.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

<sup>23</sup> He lost office on 5 February 1955 as a result of a no-confidence motion moved against him in the French National Assembly on his North African policy.

New Delhi  
4 April, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I must apologize to you for the long gap since my last letter was written to you. I have no adequate excuse except that I have been rather overwhelmed with work during these five weeks or more. There has been no lack of subjects to write upon, and I have often wanted to bring to your notice many matters of concern to us, both in the national and international sphere. But, because of this lapse of time, many of these questions have become rather out of date.

2 Parliament has been sitting all this time, and has considered important matters. There has been the general budget<sup>1</sup> and the railway budget.<sup>2</sup> Among the more important measures before Parliament have been the Constitution Fourth Amendment Bill and the Hindu Law Reforms Bill. There has been a conference of Governors and Rajpramukhs,<sup>3</sup> and there have been many important visitors. In the foreign field, the situation has in no way improved.

3 The railway budget indicated satisfactory progress and was well received by Parliament. On the general budget, criticism was chiefly directed towards certain fresh taxation proposals. The Finance Minister has already met many of

1. The Central Budget for 1955-56 presented in the Lok Sabha on 28 February 1955 showed a deficit of Rs 318 crores.

2. Presented in Lok Sabha on 22 February 1955, the railway budget for 1955-56 revealed a net surplus of Rs. 7 14 crores. The Minister for Railways also announced some concessions in fares and freights.

3. Held on 25 and 26 February 1955 the conference discussed the question of law and order and reviewed progress in the fields of economic development, higher education and the uplift of scheduled castes and

these criticisms by giving up or toning down some of these proposals.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise, the budget was generally within the framework of the first Five Year Plan.

4 We are passing through a period of incubation in so far as the second Five Year Plan is concerned; we shall have to come to certain important decisions in the course of the next few months. These decisions will involve our general approach to planning in future and the pace of progress that we want to set. There has been some argument about what is called physical planning and financial planning. The argument, though helpful to some extent, was perhaps not wholly appropriate. There should be no conflict between these two approaches. Obviously, the financial element cannot be ignored and must play an important part. The question really is to what extent physical planning should come into the picture. It is said that planning in the real sense involves physical planning and, indeed, even in the past, we have had to consider the physical aspect. We could not go far in this direction because of the lack of data and statistics. We have now much more information and this is being added to from day to day. It is by no means complete or fully satisfactory, but probably we have enough now to form a basis for future work and planning. It seems to me that we should give greater emphasis to this physical side of planning for the second Five Year Plan and proceed to collect as much more data as we can. It is proposed to hold a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council early in May, when, I hope, some definite decisions will be taken.

5 Meanwhile, it has already been indicated that planning is not likely to suffer for lack of funds. We are in a position to go ahead pretty far on the financial side provided our machinery is adequate to spend the money that is available

4. On 21 March, C.D. Deshmukh announced a number of changes in excise duty on items like sewing machines etc., buses and fans, paints, cotton and woollen fabrics.

This is important, or else we either waste the money or it remains unspent for lack of due preparation.

6 This preparation does not merely mean making a long list of projects but viewing each project from the point of view of its fitting into the larger picture and, more especially, indicating its employment potential. Above all, the most urgent need is likely to be of trained personnel in various grades and in various departments of activity. It takes time to train people and, unless we start immediately, we shall be held up later. The most important step to be taken now, therefore, is to make adequate provision for trained personnel that is likely to be necessary in the near future. I hope that we shall add to our training institutes considerably before long.

7. There can be no doubt the country is in a mood of hope and expectation. It is looking forward to a more rapid advance and to big achievements. Public co-operation will, I think, certainly be forthcoming. We have, therefore, all the basic elements for rapid progress provided we ourselves come up to the mark.

8 This favourable and hopeful atmosphere in the public generally is due to many causes—the improvement in the food situation, the general satisfaction with our foreign policy, and the new turn that has been given to our objectives and our basic policy by Parliament as well as the Avadi Congress. The decision to aim at the establishment of a socialist pattern of society has undoubtedly been widely welcomed. It has reflected the public mind and produced a sense of enthusiasm. This has been indicated in many ways, notably by the results of the Andhra elections.

9 The danger now seems to me to lie in complacency, and I am very anxious that all of us should realize this and avoid it. There is, of course, no room for complacency either internally or in the foreign field. In fact, we have arrived at a stage when our fullest effort is needed, both on the part of the Government and the people.

10 The Constitution Amendment Bill though criticized

by certain sections outside, has had a remarkably easy career thus far in Parliament. In fact, there was hardly any real or effective opposition. It has now emerged from the Joint Committee which, I think, has improved it and simplified it.<sup>5</sup> It is now completely in line with what we ourselves said in the Constituent Assembly at the time of making the Constitution. Certain industrial and other interests, both in India and abroad, are rather apprehensive. I think that this apprehension is wholly unjustified. It is not our policy to expropriate or to give what might be called nominal compensation. That does not pay in the end even from the practical point of view. But we cannot allow all our social work to be hung up because a matter is taken repeatedly to the law courts, and we have to await their decision. This Constitution Amendment Bill is a good example of the conflict between the large mass of public opinion on the one side and in favour of it and some vested interests on the other side.

11. The Hindu Reform Bills are making slow progress. I earnestly hope that one of them, namely, the Marriage Bill, will be passed during this session of Parliament. The other important Bill—the Hindu Succession Bill—has been referred to a Joint Committee of the two Houses and should come up at the next session.

12. Two days ago, a private Bill came up before Parliament for banning cow slaughter completely.<sup>6</sup> I opposed this, and it was lost by a very big majority. I have often written to you about the urgent need for cattle protection and, more particularly, for the preservation of milch cows. That is a matter of great importance to our country, but this approach of passing such a Bill appears to me to be completely wrong and not even in the interest of the cattle and much less of the

5. The Joint Select Committee on 31 March recommended that all questions relating to the adequacy of compensation be decided by the legislature outside judicial purview. See also *ante*, p. 61

6. On 2 April the House rejected the motion for consideration of Seth Covind Das's bill seeking a ban on cattle slaughter. Nehru said that I will resign rather than support such a bill.

country. We have to take this matter up constructively. Much has been done in Bombay and Calcutta, the two big cities which have sinned most in this respect. Much more has to be done. We must concentrate on preventing completely the killing of any milch cow. That is the first essential step, and I hope that particular attention will be paid to this in some of our big cities. While we should do this as soon as and as effectively as possible, we should not and cannot surrender to the agitational demand of some of the communal organizations which seek to exploit religion for political advantage. I know that some people, including Congressmen, feel strongly on this subject. I appreciate their sentiment but not this approach. I spoke, therefore, rather strongly on this subject, so that there might be no doubt left in the public mind about our general policy and approach to this important question.

13 Four days ago, I spoke in Parliament on foreign affairs<sup>7</sup>. I covered a fairly broad field, and I would draw your attention to the report of my speech. It is important that we should have clear ideas about these developments. They are often confusing if viewed separately, and the constant stress on a great struggle between communism and anti-communism prevents any clarity of thought or action. The first thing to remember is that modern war is the final calamity and it must be avoided. Few people realize the terrible effects of these modern weapons. We have been pressed by certain eminent foreigners to appoint a Commission which would study objectively and scientifically what the effect of these modern weapons is likely to be. After much thought, we decided not to appoint some such Commission at present but, in fact, we are taking steps to collect such information as is available, and we have

<sup>7</sup> Speaking in Lok Sabha on 31 March 1955, Nehru said that there was no danger of war in the near future though the "situation generally in the world has hardened." He described the forthcoming Bandung Conference as a unique one and of historic importance." He also referred to the South East Asia security pact the situation in Indo-China and relations with Pakistan and Sri Lanka and the future of Goa.

asked some of our scientists to do this. At a later stage, we shall give further thought to this matter.

14. You are no doubt aware that a conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy is going to be held in Geneva in August next<sup>8</sup> under the Chairmanship of Dr Homi Bhabha,<sup>9</sup> who is our leading expert in matters relating to atomic energy. India is beginning to play a progressively more important role in this field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. We hope to have an experimental research reactor ready by the end of this year or the beginning of next year. By the end of next year we are likely to have another and a bigger reactor.

15. The situation in Formosa and the China Seas has slightly toned down during the last few weeks. But that does not mean a real improvement. There is anger and distrust on both sides and a preparation for possible war. We can do little about it, but we do not give up hope and continue to press our viewpoint whenever opportunity occurs. In Indo-China also, the situation has somewhat worsened and the period of unanimous decisions by our Commissions there has come to an end. Several difficult problems have arisen in Laos<sup>10</sup> and there has been a marked difference of opinion even among the Members of the Commission,<sup>11</sup> chiefly in

8. From 8 to 20 August 1955.

9. (1909-1966). Fellow of Royal Society, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, 1949-66; Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, 1954-66; President, International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, Geneva, 1955, killed in an air crash.

10. Hostilities between the Laotian Government and Pathet Lao forces continued during this period. During the negotiations between the two sides Pathet Lao conceded the Government's right to sovereignty over the northern provinces leading to their eventual unification but maintained their own right to mobilize armed units to resist interference in these provinces pending a final political settlement.

11. While the Canadian member insisted that the Commission under the armistice agreement should demarcate areas under Pathet Lao forces in northern provinces and in any breach of the peace the Polish member maintained that under the agreement the Commission could take

regard to the interpretation of the Geneva Agreement. In Saigon, South Vietnam, there is actually a small-scale civil war going on.<sup>12</sup> The condition of South Vietnam is indeed most extraordinary. Perhaps the most remarkable fact of all is that the Head of the State, Bao Dai, resides in the Riviera in the South of France while his country is torn by civil war and appears to be disintegrating.

16. World attention is being concentrated on the coming Asian-African Conference at Bandung in Indonesia. Whatever the final result of this conference will be, it will mark a historic stage in the development of Asia and, to some extent, Africa. I intend going there on the 15th of April and expect to return by the 27th.

17. Conditions in Pakistan have also been very peculiar and the Governor-General has taken all power to himself.<sup>13</sup> This shows the precarious political state of Pakistan. The economic conditions are also bad. The present Government of Pakistan is apparently bent on what they call the one-unit scheme, that is, the whole of West Pakistan being made into one unit. Anyone who opposes this is quietly removed, however high his position might be. In spite of this terrific pressure, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan<sup>14</sup> has raised his voice against this one-unit scheme. Meanwhile, there has been a steady stream of Hindu migrants from East Pakistan and this has created a difficult position in West Bengal.

12. The situation in South Vietnam deteriorated after the withdrawal of support by Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen groups to Ngo Diem who refused to unify the army under a single command and reconstitute his Cabinet. This led to street fighting in Saigon on 28 and 29 March 1955

13. Under an ordinance issued on 27 March 1955, he assumed powers to constitute West Pakistan as one unit, rename East Bengal as East Pakistan and take steps to frame a Constitution and approve the budget in the absence of Parliament.

14. For b fn. see Vol. 1 p 279

18. In Nepal, King Tribhuvan of Nepal died<sup>15</sup> in Switzerland and has been succeeded by his eldest son,<sup>16</sup> who is wielding all authority at present. I have little doubt that he will form a Cabinet before long. I hope that the young King will meet with success and that the present deplorable state of Nepal will improve.

19. Within a few days I am expecting the Prime Minister of Egypt<sup>17</sup> with a large company and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup> The Deputy Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North)<sup>19</sup> will also be here soon.

20. I have decided to visit the Soviet Union early in June. I expect to spend about two weeks there and then to go for three days to Poland. I might also visit Yugoslavia.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. On 14 March 1955.

16. Mahendra Vir Bikram Shah (1920-1971) King of Nepal, 1955-71, dismissed the Ministry and assumed full powers, 1960

17. Visited India from 12 to 15 April 1955.

18. Mohammad Naim Khan (b. 1911). Afghan politician; Deputy Premier and Minister of Education, 1937, Ambassador to U K., 1946, to U.S.A., 1950; Foreign Minister and Deputy Premier, 1953-63.

19. Pham Van Dong (b. 1906). Close associate of Ho Chi Minh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1954-61 and Prime Minister, Democratic Republic of Vietnam 1955-76. Prime Minister 1976-81 and Chairman Council of Ministers Socialist Republic of Vietnam 1982-87

New Delhi  
14 April, (Midnight), 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

1 I am writing this letter to you on the eve of my departure for the Asian-African Conference in Bandung. Within a few hours I shall be leaving Delhi accompanied by the Prime Minister of Egypt, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan<sup>1</sup> and their parties. We shall spend a night in Rangoon and the next morning U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, will join our party and go with us.

2 I do not want to leave India without sending this letter to you. I am, therefore, writing this letter after midnight. In fact, I shall not be here to sign it. You will please excuse that in these circumstances the letter has to be briefer than usual, although I have much to say.

3 The terrible disaster to one of our Air India International Constellations three days ago has come as a great blow to all of us and I have felt peculiarly distressed about it for a number of reasons which you, no doubt, will appreciate.<sup>2</sup> I shall say nothing more because the matter is under enquiry.

4 During the last ten days we have had a number of distinguished visitors. As you know, the ex-King of

<sup>1</sup> Gamal Abdel Nasser and Mohammad Naim Khan arrived in New Delhi on 12 April 1955.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kashmir Princess* crashed in the Indian Ocean while on a chartered flight from Hong Kong to Jakarta carrying one Vietnamese and two Po sh jo lists and an advance party of the Chinese delegation to the Bandung Conference. The crash was later found to be the result of

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Cambodia had come previously.<sup>3</sup> Then came the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam<sup>4</sup> (North Vietnam or Viet Minh). The Foreign Minister of South Vietnam<sup>5</sup> was also to have come here, but at the last moment he had to cancel his visit because of the conditions of civil war in Saigon.<sup>6</sup> Two days ago the Prime Minister of Egypt and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan reached Delhi. There have been many functions in their honour. The most notable of these was what was meant to be a municipal function when addresses of welcome were presented to them. A bright idea struck us that this should be in the open with plenty of room for the public to come. As a result, a mighty gathering collected and Delhi gave a popular welcome which no foreign visitor has ever had in the long history of Delhi City. Estimates of the crowd varied from 300,000 to 500,000. But the most remarkable feature was the absolute discipline and orderliness of this mighty concourse of human beings. Our guests as well as the many diplomats and foreigners present were naturally greatly impressed. This meeting became a symbol of the disciplined upsurge of India's and Asia's humanity, a symbol of the new resurgent spirit of Asia, and a coming together of the countries of Asia and Africa. It was a fitting prelude to the Bandung Conference.

3 The Bandung Conference has excited a tremendous amount of world attention. Some view it favourably; others with apprehension. But, as I have said previously, whatever the result of this Conference, it is an historic event which is bound to affect in many ways the future functioning of these countries of Asia and Africa. There are some people who will perhaps try to obstruct the work of the Conference and to make it fail. But I imagine that the spirit of the times and the moving tide of events in Asia and Africa will be too much

for them. I suppose that the Conference will largely deal with general principles and live issues, the first among these being necessarily the quest for peace. Many countries represented there will, no doubt, try to bring their own problems and difficulties. But it is difficult for a Conference like this to consider controversial questions affecting countries *inter se*. We cannot decide this question by voting.

6 Outwardly, there appears to be some toning down in the international situation and no major incidents have been reported. But we should not be led into any sense of security by this. The position is a dangerous one in the Far Eastern seas and in the Middle East also danger lurks. The question of Formosa and the Matsu and Quemoy islands appears as insoluble as ever. The U.S. Government have made it perfectly clear that an attack on Formosa by the Chinese will mean war I think they mean this. Whether an attack on Quemoy and Matsu will also lead to a major conflict, or whether there will be such an attack, I do not know. To some extent, American declarations have toned down a little. It has been made clear that there should be no attack by Chiang Kai-shek's forces or by the Americans on the Chinese mainland. In other words, the United States accepts the Chinese People's Republic on the mainland, though formally it might not say so. That, at long last, is recognition of reality and therefore to be welcomed.

7 But this does not really ease the situation. Mr Dulles's recent statement<sup>7</sup> indicates that the U.S. want these and connected matters to be brought before the U.N. The object apparently is to tie up, through the U.N., the United Kingdom and other Western countries. It will be remembered that the U.K., Canada, etc., have clearly stated that they are not committed to any war in the Far East over the question of Formosa or Matsu or Quemoy, but that if the U.N. becomes responsible for any activity, they would naturally have to share the burden. Now, the U.S. is trying to bring the U.N. into the picture, as was done in the case of

Korea. If this move succeeds, then the situation is likely to be more dangerous and Korea may be repeated, on a much vaster scale. We have made clear our apprehensions to some of the countries concerned.

8. Bringing this matter before the U.N. rules out the Security Council. It is not difficult for the U.N., constituted as it is, to pass any resolution brought forward by the U.S., as it did in the case of Korea and China when the question of the airmen prisoners was brought up. Thus, if the U.N. is tied up with this matter, it is likely to remove some restraint on U.S. action. The U.S. itself is tied up to Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, any aggressive action by Chiang Kai-shek might draw in the U.S. and later the other Western countries, in case the U.N. is brought in. At present, the attitude of the U.K. and some other countries is a deterrent. It will cease to be so if they are brought in through the U.N. to some kind of general approval of any policy there. Hence the danger.

9. On the Chinese side equally, there appears to be a good deal of stubbornness. I believe that the Chinese position is essentially correct in regard to Formosa, etc. But the fact that it is correct will not save us from a big conflict if certain events take place. I cannot say how far China is prepared to go.

10. It may be that the mere fact that the Bandung Conference is going to meet has exercised a restraining influence on the Far Eastern situation and after the Conference other developments might take place.

11. In Indo-China practically everyone swears by the Geneva Agreement in public, but it is by no means clear that in private all these people also wish to implement that agreement. There is much internal friction and talk of war and a great deal of suspicion of each other. I think the visit of Pham Van Dong, the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam, to Delhi did some good.

12. The situation in the Middle East is also becoming rather volcanic Israel has committed some acts of

aggression on Egypt.<sup>8</sup> The policy of Israel recently has become tougher and it almost appears that a crisis is deliberately sought after. It seems that Israel is getting a measure of backing from the U.S. and the U.K. in order, chiefly, to bring pressure upon Egypt to fall in line.

13 The Iraqi-Turkish Pact,<sup>9</sup> to which the U.K. has adhered, has, as you know, split the Arab world. Egypt and Syria have opposed it stoutly and so has Saudi Arabia. But Jordan and Lebanon are definitely in the orbit of the Western Powers and their alliances. Syria has been subjected to very great pressure directly by Turkey and indirectly by some Western Powers to join the pact. Syria has resisted this, but it is by no means sure that it can continue to do so. All these countries of Western Asia are weak and are governed by small groups, often supported by big Powers.

14 In the event of Israel attacking Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan will probably look on. Syria can do little and the Saudi Arabia even less. Thus, the brunt will fall on Egypt. Israel's military strength is far greater than Egypt's. Egypt is thus put in a very precarious position and there is much concern in the minds of Egypt's leaders. Any defeat in the battlefield or even a major diplomatic defeat might endanger the present Government which, I think, for all its faults, is a good and effective Government anxious to improve the condition of Egypt. If that Government falls, some other Government working under the direction of the Western Powers might well come in. That will be the end of Egypt's independence for the present.

15. In Europe, the question of rearmament of Germany which has now been practically decided upon is producing its natural reactions in the Soviet Union which is likely soon to denounce its treaties with U.K. and France. Thus, tension will grow. Indeed, the Soviet Union has already intensified its armament and heavy industry programmes.

8. Between 1 and 9 April 1955 there were reports of clashes between Egyptian and Israeli forces at a number of places in the Gaza strip

9. The pact was signed on 24 February 1955. See also *ante* p. 155

16 The world thus continues to stand at the edge of a precipice. Only the fear of an all-out atomic war keeps it from toppling over.

17 We cannot ignore these developments in the world which are likely to affect the future of every country. Nor can we ignore the extension of the idea of spheres of influence of the Great Powers in Asia. That is a challenge to the independence of Asian countries. Unfortunately many of them are weak and some of them are governed by reactionary and also venal governments.

18 It is in this context that we are going to meet at Bandung. Later, early in June, I intend going to the Soviet Union.<sup>10</sup> I shall also visit then Czechoslovakia,<sup>11</sup> Poland,<sup>12</sup> Austria<sup>13</sup> and Yugoslavia.<sup>14</sup>

19 But let us forget for the moment these dark clouds on the international horizon. Our chief work lies in India and we are getting more and more engrossed in the working out of our second Five Year Plan. Early next month we are having a meeting of the National Development Council<sup>15</sup> of the Planning Commission, of which all Chief Ministers are members. This will consider the kind of broad framework of a Plan. If this is approved, as I hope it will be, then future work will be shaped accordingly. This is of great importance for our whole future work which will depend on the new turn we give by our decisions. All Chief Ministers will soon receive, if they have not already done so, some papers from the Planning Commission for their consideration. These papers will include a plan frame, a note by the Economic Division of the Planning Commission and the Economic Department of our Finance Ministry, and also a note on these papers prepared by the panel of economists. This panel consists of some of our most eminent economists in

10. Nehru visited the Soviet Union from 7 to 23 June 1955.

11. On 6 June 1955.

12. From 23 to 25 June 1955.

13. On 26-27 June 1955

14. From 30 June to 6 July 1955

15. It met on 5-6 May 1955

the country. All these papers, though differing slightly here and there, point in more less the same direction. While generally we agree to this approach, we are not committed to it at this stage in any detail. The figures given in these papers are clearly tentative and may require revision. Planning in future is likely to be based more and more on the statistical and other information we get and will not be merely a list of projects and the priority to be given to them.

20. All this business of drawing up a second Five Year Plan excites me greatly. It is not a matter of dry figures or statistics for me, but rather a living, moving process affecting hundreds of millions of our countrymen. We have in India a unique chance and we are tackling it in a peaceful democratic way which has not been done on this scale ever before. We can only succeed, and succeed we must, by the combined and co-operative efforts of our people. The success of the first Five Year Plan, thus far achieved, has filled us with hope and faith, but the next step will be a much bigger and harder one requiring far greater effort. When these planning papers reach you, I hope you will give them earnest consideration so that when you come here for the meeting of the National Development Council, you will have a good picture in your minds of the work that has thus far been done and the direction in which we should like to go. As soon as that Council gives the green signal, progress in drawing up a Plan will be much faster.

21. I have often written to you about the community projects and the national extension scheme. I have no doubt that you know more about them by practical experience than I do. And yet I have a slight advantage over you because I can see the picture as a whole and the amazing changes that this community work is bringing about in a great part of India. The whole country is astir with this work and we have spread out enough now to be able to say that there is no considerable area without a community project or an extension scheme. Probably there is no gap of fifty miles between any two areas touched by the scheme.

22. As always happens a great movement generates its

own momentum. This community project movement has developed that and sometimes this very progress, which is so heartening, is a bit frightening also lest we fail to keep pace with it. The real difficulty, as I have pointed out to you, might well be the lack of trained personnel. Hence the urgent necessity to train people for all the types of work that are required in our hundreds of thousands of villages. So far as our rural areas are concerned, the life of the people will revolve more and more around these community schemes

23 While very good work has been done in these community projects and the national extension scheme, one important aspect has not been adequately dealt with thus far. This is the cottage or household industry side of our work there. In some places this has begun well, but it has to go very far still before it can produce satisfactory results. More stress must, therefore, be laid on this. You will see later that in the second Five Year Plan cottage and household industries occupy a place of great importance.

24 The present position is that 825 community projects and national extension scheme blocks have been allotted. Out of these, work is being done in 718 such blocks. The villages covered by them are estimated to be over 99,000 and the number of persons covered are roughly estimated to be 62 millions.

25. There is still a very marked shortage of personnel in public health, engineering and animal husbandry work as well as administrative personnel. The question therefore of training people is one which must be given top priority. It is perfectly clear now that any person trained for the various aspects of work in the community projects and the national extension service will not suffer for want of employment.

26 The success of this rural work has been essentially due to the public co-operation received, although I must commend the work of our officials also. Future success will depend more and more on how far we can make this work a people's work rather than official and governmental work. Of course the two will have to work together. We may well be developing a new pattern of democratic working which

overrides and bypasses considerations of caste and religion and even, to some extent, politics. There is an element of the crusader's zeal about this work. It would be a pity if this zeal was replaced by the official or departmental method of working.

27 It is interesting to note that this great experiment in rural community working has already attracted the attention of many countries in Asia and Africa. It suits underdeveloped and agricultural countries especially and hence this attraction and the desire of other countries to do likewise.

28 You will presently receive, probably from our Commerce and Industry Ministry, a note on the metric system. For a large number of years, the question of introducing the metric system has been discussed in India. The history of this goes back, I think, to the last century. Our Government tackled it right at its inception seven and a half years ago. But then troubles came consequent on independence and partition and we put it by. We have now given full and very detailed consideration to this matter and we have become convinced that it is desirable from many points of view and, more especially, for our planning and developmental work that we should gradually introduce this system. You will remember, I hope, that the metric system, like the zero symbol, originated in India. That was a mighty discovery of the human intellect of which we can well be proud. This was a gift of India to the world, but in this, as in some other matters, we lagged behind and other countries went ahead.

29 All this planning and developmental work and other statistical work would be enormously simplified if we had the metric system. Weights and measures in India are in a chaotic state and differ from place to place, more especially weights. It has become quite inevitable to standardize them. If so, it is better to standardize them on a well-known logical and scientific system.

30 Of course this will have to be done gradually and may take a number of years. The first and easiest step would be

applying this metric system to our coinage. Other further steps would follow gradually. Perhaps, the whole process might well take ten or even fifteen years. We must, of course, keep the public fully in the picture and educate them in this matter so that the changeover might be made with as little upset as possible. Whatever the initial difficulty might be there is bound to be great simplification later.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 23\*

The Asian-African Conference met for seven days at Bandung.<sup>1</sup> These were days of hard, and often concentrated, work. The open session of the Conference met for two days to begin with. It then dissolved itself into three committees—the Economic Committee, the Cultural Committee and Political Committee. The Political Committee which consisted of the Heads of all Delegations, was in fact the Conference and it considered the reports of the Economic and Cultural Committees.

2 This Political Committee was supposed to meet *in camera*, but in effect there was not much privacy and fairly long reports have come out in the press about its proceedings. These reports are not wholly correct. The Political Committee appointed several Drafting Committees, as they were called. These Drafting Committees tackled some of the most difficult and controversial problems and had to do the hardest work, often sitting for six or seven hours almost continuously. The agreements arrived at were in these Drafting Committees which were subsequently approved of by the full Political Committee. In the Economic Committee, our representatives were B.K. Nehru<sup>2</sup> and K.B. Lal<sup>3</sup> assisted by P. Vaidyanathan, Commercial

\* Note on the Asian-African Conference at Bandung written on 28 April 1955 was circulated to all Chief Ministers.

1 From 18 to 24 April 1955

2 (b. 1909). Joined I.C.S., 1934; served in the Department of Economic Affairs, 1954-58, Commissioner-General in Washington, 1958-61; Ambassador to U.S.A., 1961-68; High Commissioner in Britain, 1973-77; Governor of Assam, 1968-73, of Jammu and Kashmir, 1981-84, and of Gujarat, 1984-86.

3 (b. 1915) Joined I.C.S. 1937. Director-General Foreign Trade 1958-60 Secretary Ministry of Industry 1960-61 Ambassador to Belgium 1962-66 and to the European Economic Community 1973-77

Secretary in our Embassy at Djakarta. In the Cultural Committee, our representatives were Dr. Syed Mahmud<sup>4</sup> and C.S. Jha<sup>5</sup> assisted by A.J. Kidwai.<sup>6</sup> In the main Drafting Committees of the Political Committee, our representatives were V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>7</sup>, S. Dutt, B.F.H.B. Tyabji<sup>8</sup> and C.S. Jha. The main burden of work on our side in these Drafting Committees fell on Krishna Menon and Dutt and I am grateful to them for the ability and restraint with which they conducted this work, often in the face of considerable provocation. Krishna Menon, more especially, deserves credit for this work.

3 The Conference issued a joint communique<sup>9</sup> which was unanimously agreed to. This has already appeared fully in the press. It is being printed and will be circulated soon. I am, however, taking the earliest opportunity, after my return, to note down my own impressions of this Conference.

4 Every country invited, except the Central African Federation, accepted this invitation and sent its delegates. Thus, twenty-nine countries of Asia and Africa were represented at

4. (1888-1971) Congressman of Patna and a friend of the Nehru family, Minister in Bihar, 1937-39, Minister of State, Ministry of External Affairs, 1946-52.

5. (b. 1909) joined I.C.S., 1933; Ambassador to Turkey, 1951-54 to Japan, 1957-59 and to France 1965-67, High Commissioner to Canada 1962-64; Permanent Representative to United Nations, 1959-62 Commonwealth Secretary, 1964-65 and Foreign Secretary, 1965-67

6. (b. 1917). Secretary, C.S.I.R., 1962-64, Education and Scientific Adviser, Indian High Commission, London, 1964-71; Secretary, Department of Science and Technology, 1971-73, and of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1973-75, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia 1978-83

7. For b fn. see Vol. 1, p. 217

8. (b. 1907). Joined I.C.S., 1932; Charge d' Affaires, Belgium, 1948-50 Commonwealth Secretary, 1954-56; Ambassador to Iran, 1956-58, to West Germany, 1958-60, and Japan, 1967, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh University, 1962-65

9. It announced a number of agreements relating to economic and cultural co-operation, problems of dependent peoples' human rights and self-determination and promoting world peace and cooperation.

the Conference. The number of delegates, advisers, etc., which they brought with them was much larger than we had expected. Probably, the Japanese delegation was the biggest. The Egyptian delegation had 34 persons. Our own delegation had 26, including stenographers, assistants, private secretaries, personal staff, etc., and a security officer.

5 Some of the delegations brought their own security staff. The Chinese delegation had the largest. I am told that this consisted of forty to forty-five security men. The disaster to the Air-India Constellation "Kashmir Princess" had produced a special sense of the need for security arrangements.

6 Apart from this, it should be remembered that there is a party in actual rebellion in parts of Java.<sup>10</sup> This is an extreme Muslim religious group. They have a habit of sniping. Therefore, the Indonesian Government took extraordinary precautions all along the route to Bandung and practically put a cordon round Bandung town, using a very large number of soldiers for the purpose. Inside Bandung also, there were very special precautions and each delegation was separately guarded.

7 There was also a very large number, many hundreds, of newspapermen from all over the world. Among these were some top-ranking American commentators and columnists. To find accommodation for all these put a great strain on the organizers. The arrangements, however, were very satisfactory. There are some good hotels in Bandung and, a number of small but good houses were taken, where Prime Ministers and heads of delegations stayed.

8 Indeed, looking at this Conference and these arrangements, I realized how poor we were in Delhi in this respect. We could not rival Bandung either in regard to hotel accommodation or the halls and rooms required for the conference.

<sup>10</sup> The rebellion was the result of a movement for the establishment of an Islamic State in Java.

9 The open Conference was held in a large hall with ante-rooms and with modern equipment of tables for each delegate, microphones and arrangements for simultaneous translations. The seats provided for the delegates were comfortable.

10 Then there was another large building which had very big committee rooms, small committee rooms, office rooms, press rooms, private rooms for separate delegations, canteen, etc. The press was very well provided for. The only rather unsatisfactory arrangement was that of reporting. It seems to me that tape-recording should be adopted in such conferences, apart from any other kind of reporting.

11 Delhi is becoming a city of conferences and yet we are very poorly equipped for this purpose. I think that we must take this matter in hand immediately quite apart from the Unesco or any other conference.

12 The Asian-African Conference was a world event which had attracted great attention. Every country in the world was following it closely and, sometimes, with apprehension. Many observers from other countries had come here in some capacity or other. Some Intelligence men had come as delegates. The U.S.A. had sometime ago opened a new department for this purpose and had collected their Far Eastern experts. They had also added considerably to their staff of the Indonesian Embassy. Many odd individuals had also come to watch from outside and meet delegates. These included representatives of freedom movements in colonial territories as well as men and women from the Big Powers.

13. The delegates who came represented every view, political or other. Some were definitely committed to either NATO or SEATO and were thus parts of the American system of military pacts and alliances. They had been fully briefed for the occasion and took up, almost in detail, the American line. Two countries, namely China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh) were Communist

14 India and Burma took up an independent line according to their policy. Indonesia and Egypt usually supported them. Most of the other countries represented were keenly interested in some local problem and had rather vague ideas about world issues. Sometimes, they appeared to agree with India's line, but seemed to be under pressure not to go too far. Many of these countries either receive aid from America or look forward to receiving it.

15 The Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai, attracted the most attention, both in public and in the Conference. This was natural as he was not only playing a great part in the crisis of the Far East but was rather a mysterious figure whom people had not seen. He conducted himself with ability and moderation in the Conference and its committees. Whenever he spoke, he did so with authority. He took particular pains to meet delegates and went to many parties given by Heads of Delegations. He had private talks also with them. He did not put forward any important proposal but objected to something if it seemed to him to be opposed to any principle for which he stood. He was obviously anxious that the Conference should succeed and, therefore, tried to be as accommodating as possible. He was patient even when he had to put up with rather offensive behaviour, which sometimes happened. Only once did he lose his temper for a short while in a committee and said that China would not be bullied. He had naturally more intimate contacts with India and Burma. Altogether, he created a very good impression on the delegates who were impressed by him. Even those who were entirely opposed to him and tried to irritate him by their behaviour, were definitely impressed by him. They said so. At a private meeting of a few Heads of Delegations, he was asked many questions about Formosa, Korea, Tibet and communism, etc. He came out well from that questioning and even some of his greatest opponents, who were present, realized that his case was not a bad one.

16 Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran were the most aggressive in the Conference and in the committees. They represented fully and sometimes rather aggressively

the pure American doctrine. Thailand and the Philippines fully supported them but in a quieter way. Ceylon also was inclined that way but was rather quiet except for one speech in which the Prime Minister<sup>11</sup> criticized Soviet domination of East European countries.

17 The Egyptian Prime Minister played an important role in committees and helped in arriving at compromises. Syria and Afghanistan also played a considerable part. Jordan and Saudi Arabia were on the whole moderate.

18 Probably the most aggressive of the delegations were those of Turkey and Pakistan, though Iraq and Lebanon ran them close in this respect.

19. U Nu, as is usual with him, did not make long speeches, but what he said was pertinent and obviously sincere. He made a good impression. On behalf of India, I spoke three times at some length in the Political Committee and also spoke at the closing session of the Open Conference. I dealt not only with the particular points raised by resolutions but also with the basic approach and philosophy of India's foreign policy. I think those speeches created an impression and made delegates think.

20 In the Political Committee of the Conference and its sub-committees, there were long and exhausting discussions. As I have said, Premier Chou En-lai was very accommodating and he did not bring up any controversial issue. His object was to get an agreement. The object of Pakistan and Turkey especially appeared to be to create as many obstacles as possible. They did not seem to be much interested in agreement or in the success of the Conference. Indeed, at one occasion in a committee, Pakistan threatened to prevent any agreement being reached and therefore the Conference failing. It must be remembered that there was no question of decisions by majority voting. In fact, unanimity was the rule. This made it easier for a small group to stop progress.

<sup>11</sup> John Ko eawala.

21. With this background, it can well be realized how difficult it was to arrive at any conclusions. The fact, therefore, that ultimately we issued a joint communique which was unanimously agreed to, is remarkable. Some of us would have liked this communique to be somewhat different, but we were anxious to succeed and agreed to many things. The Conference thus represented a headlong conflict of ideas, forcefully expressed, and at the same time an amazing capacity to find some common ground and decide ultimately unanimously. It may be, of course, that people carried away reservations in their minds.

22. Taking an overall view of the picture, it seems to me that the Conference was a remarkable success. Quite apart from the joint communique issued, it represented the coming together of all these varied and differing nations, their delegates getting to know each other and learning something from each other and finding ultimately that, in spite of so many differences, they had much in common. Thus a feeling of common purposes among the Asian and African countries became more and more evident. We should not imagine that all is well in Asia or Africa, or that our differences have been resolved. I have no doubt that they would be dissolved but for external pressure and military pacts and financial aid and the like. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that we have gone some way towards helping the creation of this common feeling among these countries. What is even more important is the psychological impact of this Conference on the peoples of Asia and Africa and also in Europe and America. This impact, though imponderable, will have far-reaching consequences.

23. In the course of the Conference, private meetings took place in regard to specific problems. More especially, some of us were concerned with the problems of Indo-China and we met repeatedly the delegates from Indo-China as well as China. U Nu often assisted at these meetings. As a result, some considerable success was obtained in regard to relations between Cambodia Laos and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Viet Minh but unfortunately South

Vietnam proved recalcitrant and took up an indefensible attitude. In effect, they challenged the very basis of the Geneva Agreement. Meanwhile, some kind of a civil war was going on in South Vietnam between different factions. South Vietnam is in a bad way, and because of this it talked loudly and aggressively and most unrealistically. Their representatives even refused invitations to meals and discussions. Turkey and Pakistan generally supported the South Vietnam representatives. This means that America supports them. The future of Vietnam, therefore, is not a hopeful one.

24 Another successful result was an agreement arrived at between Thailand and North Vietnam about a large number of Vietnamese who had gone to Thailand on account of the civil war. This indicates how at such conferences, problems which had defied solution, because of lack of contacts could be dealt with successfully when people came face to face with each other.

25 Premier Chou En-lai made some important declarations in the course of his speeches which were frank, courteous and to the point. He stated clearly that he was a Communist and represented a Communist Government but he stated explicitly that China desired no expansion or internal subversion in any country. He was there to have a common understanding and there were the Five Principles which dealt with these matters and with which he entirely agreed. He did not press for the exact language of these Five Principles but wanted the substance with a view to establish collective peace. He was prepared to give every assurance to remove apprehensions. He was of opinion that each country must respect the way of life and economic system chosen by another country. He specially mentioned that he respected the way of life of the American people and their country as also that of the Japanese. But he claimed the same right for himself and his country. China asked for no special privileges or special status in its dealings with other countries. They wanted equality of treatment and were prepared to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

26 In the course of a private conversation at which the Prime Ministers of Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma were present, and also Prince Wan<sup>12</sup> of Thailand and Dr Romulo,<sup>13</sup> Premier Chou En-lai answered many questions about Formosa, Tibet, communism, etc. He gave the background history of Tibet, Formosa and the Chinese civil war. He referred to Chiang Kai-shek being kidnapped by one of his own Generals<sup>14</sup> and how he was released at his (Chou En-lai's) instance. The poor General who had kidnapped him through patriotic motives and who was one of the ablest and most patriotic of Chiang's Generals, was subsequently imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek and he was still in prison in Formosa after about eighteen years.<sup>15</sup> When asked if he wanted to push communism into Tibet, Chou En-lai laughed and said that there could be no such question as Tibet was very far indeed from communism. It would be thoroughly impracticable to try to establish a Communist regime in Tibet and the Chinese Government had no such wish. Indeed, they had appointed a committee, of which the Dalai Lama was the Chairman, to consider what should be done in Tibet.<sup>16</sup> Tibet was an autonomous region of China and they had no desire whatever to interfere with its customs or ways of life. They had gone to Tibet because it was an

12. K N.B. Wan Waithayakan (1891-1975). Thai diplomat and politician; Ambassador to U.S.A., 1947-52; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1952-58; Deputy Prime Minister, 1959-68; President, U.N. General Assembly, 1956-57.

13. C P. Romulo (b. 1899) Philippine diplomat and politician, served in Philippine War Cabinet, 1943-44; President, U.N. General Assembly, 1949-50, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 1950-52; Ambassador to U.S.A., 1952-53 and 1955-62; Secretary, Department of Education, 1966-68 and of Foreign Affairs, 1968-78; Minister, 1978-84.

14. Chiang Kai-shek had been kidnapped by General Chang Hsueh-Liang at Lintung, and held in detention from 12 to 27 December 1936.

15. General Chang Hsueh-Liang, who was Commander-in-Chief of K.M.T. troops was arrested and tried by the special military tribunal.

16. Dalai Lama was Chairman from 1955 to 1959 of the preparatory committee to make Tibet an autonomous region.<sup>1</sup>

integral part of the Chinese State and because it had been used for imperialist intrigues, meaning thereby the British recently and previously Czarist Russia.

27 As regards Formosa, Chou En-lai said that they wished to treat this also as an autonomous region. It was a part of China. Most of the people who lived there had Chinese origin and spoke the Fukian dialect of Chinese. The Chinese Government had no desire to punish in any way Chiang Kai-shek's officers and Army. They would gladly absorb them in their own Army. Even Chiang Kai-shek could be offered an honourable position. He was asked if he would agree to state that he would not use force in regard to Formosa. He said that force is being used by Chiang Kai-shek and the Americans all the time. He for his part wanted a peaceful settlement and he thought this was possible provided the foreign element was removed, that is America withdrew. But he could not give a one-sided assurance about not using force in the circumstances. He was prepared to talk directly with the United States on this subject of Formosa or Taiwan.

28. It was subsequent to this private talk that Chou En-lai made a statement<sup>17</sup> about Formosa and said that China wanted a peaceful settlement and was prepared to have direct talks with the United States. In private he has said he could not say more at this stage or go into details till he knew what the American reaction was. The immediate American reaction was not helpful at all and the subsequent reaction, though better, did not carry things very far.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt, however, that this is not the end of the matter and the

17. On 23 April 1955.

18. Dulles stated on 26 April that the United States would probe further China's offer "but would not negotiate with a pistol pointed at its head", and added that it would not insist on Nationalist China being made a party to the negotiations for ceasefire if China assured that she would not attack Formosa. The next day, Eisenhower, endorsing Dulles' statement said that the United States could enter into discussions if the position of the Nationalists in Formosa was not affected.

initiative taken by Premier Chou has opened out various avenues of approach.

29 It is difficult to explore these avenues formally as each party adopts a stiff attitude when approached in that way. The most practicable course is to proceed as informally as possible through private talks with the parties concerned. It was this procedure that led to successful results at the Geneva Conference. The Formosa question is no doubt more difficult than Indo-China because the prestige of the United States is involved as well as the national pride and interest of China. Still, there appears to be clearer thinking now on this issue than there was before. This is evident even in the United States and certainly in the United Kingdom. At the Bandung Conference, although the subject was not discussed at the Conference, the atmosphere created was certainly in favour of peaceful approaches. As I was saying goodbye to Premier Chou En-lai, he mentioned to me that he would like to have further talks with Krishna Menon and had invited him to go to Peking for this purpose as soon as possible. I welcomed this proposal and told him that Krishna Menon would go there within the next two weeks or so. He will go there quietly and with as little fuss as possible. Publicity cannot be avoided altogether but, so far as we are concerned, we should play it down.

30. At the Bandung Conference, it was not India's purpose to play any aggressive role or, indeed, to seek the limelight. Some newspapers, especially in India, naturally played up India's role. We felt, however, that it was better for us to work quietly. The fact, however, remained that the two most important countries present at the Bandung Conference were China and India. Indeed, U Nu pointed out at a private meeting that without China and India the Conference would not have had much significance.

31 Not many people have probably read carefully the joint communique issued by the Conference. It deserves careful reading. Attention has been directed to certain controversial issues which were lived by language acceptable to the parties concerned. In every compromise there is an effort

to find some such language, if agreement is sought. If I had the drafting of the statement, without others' intervention, I would have drafted it somewhat differently. I think, however, that the joint communique, as it is, is a worthy document and there is nothing in it with which we can disagree. It may be that some countries will emphasize one aspect of it and some others another aspect. As a whole, it is a most important document which will influence not only Asian and African thinking, but will also affect European and American thought.

32 The so-called Five Principles or the *Panchsheel* had somehow become a bone of contention. We were not anxious for the particular phraseology or the principle. We agreed, therefore, to a reformulation of them with some additions which meet our purpose.<sup>19</sup>

33 There can be no doubt that the personal contacts at this Conference were of great value. Speaking for myself, I got a much better measure of the many well-known people who attended this Conference than I had before. I had a certain prejudice against Prince Wan of Thailand, or rather the prejudice was against Thailand's policy. I found Prince Wan a very agreeable, decent and, if I may say so, civilized man. He was an old liberal type and probably he doesn't quite fit in the present politics of Thailand. So also I was impressed by some others. The Japanese, though present in very large numbers, did not play an important role. Privately they talked about trade matters and were anxious

19. The ten principles for the promotion of world peace and co-operation were: (1) respect for human rights and the U.N. Charter; (2) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; (3) recognition of racial and national equality; (4) non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations; (5) the right of any nation to defend itself singly or jointly with other nations under the U.N. Charter, (6) abstention from using a collective defence arrangement for the benefit of any big world power and abstention from exercise of pressure on other countries, (7) refraining from acts or threats of aggression or use of force against any country (8) settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, (9)

on of mutual interests and  
justice and in tional ob i gations.

tion and (10) respect for

to push Japanese trade and commercial interests. Their leader confessed in private the limitations they suffered from because of pressures from the United States. The Conference, in spite of controversy and argument, was definitely a friendly conference.

34 For many of the Africans, who attended the Conference, this was the first view of some of the countries of Asia. Many of the Arabs and others from Western Asia also came for the first time to South East Asia. Coming from dry and more or less desert regions, they were surprised at the greenery and richness of the vegetation. They were even more surprised at the freedom of the women. Those who passed through India had first noticed this to some extent. Then they came to Burma and there women were very much in evidence. In fact, it was the time of the water festival and girls and women took a great part in it. Then came Indonesia and their surprise was all the greater that Muslim women should be so free and should take so great a part in public activities.

35 An Arab delegate made a characteristic remark. He said that Bandung did not look like an Asian city at all. It was too clean.

36 Everyone present at the Conference had a sense of participation in an historic process. The mere fact of our meeting there was unique. The other fact of our coming to a unanimous agreement, in spite of differences, was little short of astonishing. This agreement could not have been reached if there had not been a powerful urge to agree. The Conference has opened a new chapter not only in Asia and Africa, but in the world.

New Delhi  
20 May, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My last fortnightly letter to you was a note on the Asian African Conference which had been held at Bandung. The previous one was sent just before I went to Bandung.

2 The Bandung Conference, even after it was over, continues to attract attention and comment. Almost, every newspaper in the world has written about it, and it is a rich experience to read these comments and criticism. Certainly I have grown wiser because of this experience. I think that, after the first excited reactions, others are gradually taking a more balanced view. To begin with the American newspapers were chiefly concerned with personalities who had dominated the Conference and who had suffered an eclipse. That, perhaps, is the normal American way of considering world questions. They live in the moment and judge by some exciting episode, not paying too much attention to the depths below.

3 Ever since I wrote to you in some detail, a number of important events have taken place on the world stage. Western Germany has entered into the NATO alliance<sup>1</sup> as an equal partner, and this is considered a great victory for the United States and the Western Powers. Perhaps it is, but I am not quite sure about the consequences. One of the immediate consequences has been for the Soviet Union and the Communist countries of East Europe to meet together and

1 On 5 May 1955 This gave West Germany the right to rearm within the framework of NATO

set up a joint command.<sup>2</sup> Thus, one action leads to another, and the so-called search for security through military alliances on one side leads to the other side doing exactly the same. The balance remains the same, only at a higher level of tension and armament.

4 There is another side to the picture which is more soothing. It is evident that the Soviet Union is carrying on two dissimilar policies at the same time. One is the so-called building up of strength, the other is a search for peaceful solutions. The Austrian treaty<sup>3</sup> resulting at long-last in the independence of Austria represents the latter policy. The new offer for general disarmament by the Soviet Union also represents the second policy.<sup>4</sup> The high level delegation going from the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia<sup>5</sup> probably represents both policies, that is, neutralizing Yugoslavia.

5 In the eyes of the Soviet, the Austrian treaty should be an example for the solution of the problem of German unity, that is, neutralizing this united Germany. This has become very difficult now because of Western Germany becoming part of the NATO alliance which has also made German

2. On 14 May 1955, at Warsaw the Soviet Union and seven East European countries signed a treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid and decided to set up a unified high command for their armed forces

3. Austria became a free country on 15 May 1955 with the signing of a treaty by Britain, the United States, France and the Soviet Union. The Big Powers also agreed to withdraw their occupation forces before 31 December 1955.

4. The Soviet Union placed before the U.N. General Assembly on 11 May 1955 a disarmament plan which envisaged withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany except the four-power controlled police force; liquidation of all foreign military bases; sharing with less developed countries the knowledge and use of atomic energy and resources for peaceful purposes; convening of an international conference for discussing disarmament and complete ban on nuclear weapons under the control of an international supervisory body.

5. It was announced on 14 May that a Soviet delegation consisting of Khrushchev Bulganin and Gromyko would visit Yugoslavia from 26 May to 5 June 1955

unity improbable. There is a large section of opinion in Germany which is attracted to the idea of German unity on the basis of neutrality. Indeed, in Germany, there is both the resurgence of the Nazi element which wants to build up a powerful German army and, at the same time, an abhorrence of war after the experience of two disastrous defeats. It is difficult, therefore, to say that the situation in Germany has been stabilized or the NATO alliance of West Germany has been fully accepted.

6 On the whole, however, there does appear to be a lessening of tension in Europe. The so-called Big Powers are meeting in the near future,<sup>6</sup> and this fact alone is good, though much should not be expected of it. In the United States, there is less of a hysterical approach to these questions.

7 The situation in Formosa and the Far East continues to be a dangerous one and several incidents have happened recently which have rather added to the tension. These incidents have been conflicts in the air between Chiang's planes and China's. As you know, V.K. Krishna Menon has been in Peking<sup>7</sup> and he has had long discussions with Chou En-lai and other leaders there. I have no full report yet of these discussions. Krishna Menon did not go there as a mediator but because he was invited by Chou En-lai. These talks, though they do not always lead to any particular result, are helpful in lessening tension. In China, the terrible aircraft disaster of the Indian airliner "Kashmir Princess" produced a violent reaction which affected other issues also. Thus, China was on the point of releasing the American airmen detained there but this disaster put a stop to this. The Chinese Government have declared<sup>8</sup> their conviction that this disaster was due to sabotage by some agents of Chiang Kai-shek, who are employed in the Hong Kong

6 The Heads of Governments of Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union met at Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955

7 From 7 to 6 May 1955

8 In their note to the British Government on 13 April 1955

aerodrome. We are waiting for the report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government.<sup>9</sup> There are some strong indications, however, that the charge of sabotage has justification. Whatever the cause of the disaster, all reports indicate that the crew of the airliner behaved with exemplary courage.

8 In Indo-China the situation continues to be a precarious one. As the time is approaching for elections and the like, difficulties are arising and there is lack of co-operation. You know that in South Vietnam there has been something in the nature of a civil war between one party backed by the French and the other by the Americans.<sup>10</sup> The American party has for the present succeeded. It is obvious, however, that South Vietnam, distracted and disunited, is a poor match for North Vietnam either in the military field or in elections. Hence their desire to avoid elections. That would mean a breach of the Geneva Agreement with far-reaching consequences. In Cambodia a certain development has taken place recently which may lead to trouble. The Government there has come to an agreement<sup>11</sup> with the U.S. for the supply of military equipment and some personnel to deal with this equipment. It is doubtful how far this is in keeping with the Geneva Agreement. According to the Cambodian Government, this is not a breach. We have not seen the terms of the Cambodian Agreement with the U.S. yet. But we have heard that China takes a strong view about this matter. I might inform you that we had gone rather far in offering aid to Cambodia in

9 The report published on 26 May 1955 stated that examination of the wreckage had produced "irrefutable evidence" that the airliner was destroyed by the explosion of a time-bomb

10 On 29 April 1955, the French Government accused the United States of having encouraged the setting up of a 'Revolutionary Committee' by some army generals to give Ngo Dinh-Diem's Government a semblance of popular support. On 4 May, France denied the American charge that it was supporting Binh Xuyen forces. On 13 May, after talks with Britain and the United States, France announced that Ngo Dinh-Diem's Government enjoyed the support of the four Western countries.

11 On 16 May 1955

our desire to prevent any development which might lead to a breach of the Geneva Agreement. We had offered not only administrative and technical personnel but also a military team to train their army. Obviously we could not supply equipment or financial aid, as the Americans can and do. Our offer was appreciated both by the Chinese and the U.K. Governments. The Cambodians thanked us also for it, but they said that so far as military instructors are concerned, they would prefer to keep on the French who were there than have any other new team, American or Indian, for this purpose. They have, however, agreed to have an American team to control the use of the equipment that America supplies. Whether this is a breach of the Geneva Agreement or not will depend on the terms of the new agreement.

9 Parliament ended on a tragic note.<sup>12</sup> The last session had done good work and certain important Bills had been passed. Among these were the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill,<sup>13</sup> the State Bank Bill,<sup>14</sup> the Untouchability Offences Bill<sup>15</sup> and the Hindu Marriage Bill.<sup>16</sup> Personally I attach great importance to this Hindu Marriage Bill as it was the first major crack in some aspects of the Hindu personal law which had become out of date. We followed this up with the Hindu Succession Act<sup>17</sup> and wanted to send this to a Joint Select Committee, but owing to the unfortunate and tragic death of a Member of the Lok Sabha, Parliament adjourned before this could be done.

10 I have always felt that a nation's progress must be on all fronts—political, economic and social. We have thought a

12. Hira Singh Chinaria, a Congress member from Pepsu, died on 7 May 1955 in the Lok Sabha immediately after finishing his speech on the Hindu Succession Bill.

13. See *ante*, pp. 61 and 144.

14. Passed by the Lok Sabha on 30 April and by the Rajya Sabha on 4 May 1955. See also *ante*, p. 110.

15. Passed by the Lok Sabha on 28 April and by the Rajya Sabha on 2 May 1955. See also *ante*, p. 32.

16. Passed by the Lok Sabha on 5 May 1955. See also *ante* p. 49.

17. See *ante* p. 52.

great deal about political matters and acted on the political plane. We are now turning our attention more and more to economic matters. The social plane had not been ignored previously because we have always laid stress on the abolition of untouchability and the like. But the Hindu Marriage Bill brought us full square against the conservative reactionary forces in the country. Apart from the merits of the measure itself, this action of ours has raised our prestige in other countries. It has shown that our Government and the forces behind it are progressive on every plane and are not afraid even of coming into conflict with orthodoxy.

11. The measure of the advance of India can be judged in many ways. One of these is to find out what subjects interest the people most. There can be little doubt that we have passed from the preliminary stage of politics into the more advanced stage of economic thinking. The problems we have to face today are essentially economic and large numbers of people talk about the second Five Year Plan and all that it implies. The first phase of economic reform was necessarily the abolition of the zamindari system. We took this in hand early, but owing to the decisions of some courts, this was held up for some years. It has now been given effect to in almost the whole of India in some form or other. West Bengal has also come in line in this matter. The next stage in land reform is to have ceilings and cooperatives. We are only at the beginning of this stage now, although in some States certain ceilings have been fixed.

12. The first Five Year Plan considered all these matters broadly and laid down certain priorities for agriculture, industry, etc. This was on the whole a modest scheme and it had to be so because we were beginning planning without adequate data even. We could not start from scratch and we had to continue many things that we had already undertaken. The working of the first Five Year Plan has been a great experience for the Central Government, the State Governments, and the people generally. It can be said that we have largely succeeded in that Plan, although there is still a whole year to run. Apart from the material success.

what is much more important is that people have become planning conscious and are more self-reliant. It is true that for most people planning is merely a collection of projects and an indication of priorities. But it is being realized by an increasing number that planning is something much more complex and widespread. It is an organized effort to interrelate the manifold activities of the nation so as to hasten progress and utilize our resources to the utmost. The two main objectives of planning are to increase the standards of the people as a whole and to diminish unemployment and finally to end it. Naturally this means greater production and equitable distribution. The broad objective has been stated to be a socialist pattern of society.

13 Our Planning Commission has been giving a great deal of thought to the approach to be made to the second Five Year Plan. Many of you attended the meeting of the National Development Council<sup>18</sup> where this was discussed and certain papers were distributed. These papers included a Plan Frame<sup>19</sup> by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis and a number of others, a note by the Economic Section of the Planning Commission and the Economic Department of the Finance Ministry, and a memorandum<sup>20</sup> prepared by the panel of economists of the Planning Commission. This panel contained a number of our most important economists in

18. On 5-6 May 1955.

19. It favoured a rapid growth of the economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector with stress on development of core industries, and sustained increase of agricultural produce through implementation of agrarian reforms; encouragement of cottage industries; and provision of adequate facilities for housing, education and medical aid for the poorer sections.

20. The memorandum maintained that for achieving growth in national income by 25%, a bolder plan of labour-intensive and production-oriented activities such as public works, development of core industries in the public sector, land reforms, progressive nationalization of industries the setting up of a National Labour Force ceiling on urban incomes and higher taxation were necessary.

the country under the distinguished chairmanship of Professor D.R. Gadgil.<sup>21</sup>

14. Broadly speaking, these three papers showed a large measure of agreement. The National Development Council accepted this broad approach without any commitment about details which would require careful working out. The Planning Commission will, of course, consider all these matters in detail. It must be remembered that there is no commitment at this stage to any of the specific proposals made in these various papers, though their broad approach has been accepted by the National Development Council.

15. I think it is important that not only the State Governments but the people generally should be associated with our thinking about the second Five Year Plan even at this stage. It is not good enough for them to be presented with the full plan at a later stage without their knowing what lines of thinking have preceded it. It would be far more helpful if at every stage we took the public into our confidence so that they might realize what planning involved and what burdens they would have to carry. It is easy for all of us to indulge in wishful thinking but that is not helpful at all. We have to be practical even though I hope we are idealistic also. We have to aim high, but we must not go beyond our capacity. I hope that you will give the greatest publicity therefore to these papers which the Planning Commission has issued and is likely to issue in the future.

16. I should like to quote here a paragraph from the memorandum of the panel of economists, which gives the broad approach to the Plan. This is as follows:

The panel subscribes to the view that a bolder plan for the second five-year period is both necessary for dealing with the large problems of poverty and unemployment and under-employment and feasible in view of the momentum gained during the first Five Year Plan. The second

21. (1901-1971). Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, 1930-66; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1966-67; Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission 1967-71

Five Year Plan must not only provide for a more rapid increase in aggregate national income; it must make an advance towards the declared goal of simultaneous and balanced progress in the direction of raising living standards, increasing employment opportunities, and reducing economic and social inequalities. The problem, therefore, is not merely one of stepping up the rate of investment in the economy—though that is necessary and important; but of securing an optimum increase of production and employment together with a wider measure of social justice. A bolder plan is, obviously, not merely a bigger plan; it must be one which is motivated by a bolder economic and social philosophy. Necessarily, it calls for a much greater effort and contribution by all classes of the community and presents a much greater challenge of organization and administrative achievement. The panel also wishes to emphasize the fact that clear decisions on the policy and institutional implications of a bolder plan are essential at the very outset if the several objectives and targets are to be realized.

17. The second Five Year Plan, according to these economists, should aim at securing an increase in national income of about twenty-five per cent in the course of the five years. During the past five years, the increase has been at the rate of about three per cent per annum, that is, fifteen per cent for the full period. This increase is not adequate. It does not even absorb the new employables created by an increase in the population, much less does it tackle the old reservoir of unemployment. It is suggested that the new employment target must be the absorption of nine to ten million workers and even this is not considered too high from the point of view of the problems we face.

18. The whole new approach is based on emphasis being laid on the one side on heavy industries and, on the other, on village and cottage industries meant to produce consumer goods. It is essential that we have both to balance each other and to provide employment

19. This approach to planning has been widely welcomed but there had been criticism also.<sup>22</sup> This criticism comes from sources which believe in private enterprise and not so much in State enterprises. In fact, it is a criticism of planning itself on the one hand and of any approach to socialism. We must remember, however, as the panel of economists have said, that "we assume as basic the social philosophy appropriate to Indian federal democracy progressing towards a socialistic pattern of society."

20. I shall not deal with this matter any more here. I have touched upon it briefly to draw particular attention to these aspects of planning which raise important issues and demand policy decisions. The basic policy decision was taken by us when we decided on working towards a socialist pattern of society. The rest merely follows from this but we have to be clear about those steps and not merely expect things to happen without clear thinking based on available data.

21. While we think of this great challenge to the nation and the great adventure in which our millions are going to enter, it is a bit of a shock to realize that some people in our country are so backward in their thinking that they are absorbed in petty provincialism. This applies to every agitation about new provinces and the like. More particularly, it applies to the extraordinarily futile agitation started by the Akalis in the Punjab.<sup>23</sup> At any time this would have been unfortunate, but to start such an agitation when the States Reorganization Commission is meeting does indicate a lack of wit and wisdom which is amazing.

22. For example, B.R. Shenoy, in a note of dissent, stated that the plan frame and the memorandum were "overambitious" as there was unrealistic estimation of the existing resources, and with savings falling short, there would be deficit financing leading to inflation or a "communistic control through controls." He also criticized the proposed nationalization of industries, higher taxation, and creation of a National Labour Force to implement the Plan.

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22 We have just had a visit from the Pakistan Prime Minister in Delhi,<sup>24</sup> accompanied by the Minister of the Interior, Major-General Iskander Mirza. For five days, we had talks on a number of issues and chiefly on Kashmir. We did not solve this complicated issue but I think that we came to grips with this problem more on this occasion than at any time previously. We dare not be too optimistic but it is quite possible that some progress might be made in the future.

23 Goa continues to be a headache.<sup>25</sup> It is natural for people to demand strong action but we must always remember that we should not, in the excitement of the moment or because of anger and resentment, undertake any action without thinking out all the possible consequences. I need not tell you that we are giving continuous and earnest thought to this Goa situation. We do not propose to allow ourselves to be hustled into wrong action.

24 I shall be leaving India on the 5th June for rather a long tour abroad. I propose to visit Czechoslovakia for a day then go to the Soviet Union for a fortnight. Later, a brief stay in Poland and Vienna and a longer one in Yugoslavia. I might also go to Rome for two days. On my way back, I have been asked to break journey for a day in Cairo for talks with the Prime Minister there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
3 June, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I am now writing to you about the vexed problem of inter-State sales tax. You are no doubt aware that the levy of sales tax on non-resident dealers in respect of inter-State transactions has led to a lot of difficulties for trade. The arrangements devised by the Union Ministry of Finance in consultation with State Governments for minimizing the difficulties to trade have given only partial relief.

The Government of India were awaiting the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Commission before taking any further step in the matter. We have now received the report and find that the Commission have made certain long-term recommendations in respect of inter-State sales tax, which if accepted would involve an amendment of the Constitution and also parliamentary legislation. This will naturally take some time, particularly because we feel it desirable in this context to await certain judgements which the Supreme Court is shortly expected to pronounce on the question of extra-territorial levy of sales tax and connected issues.

In the interim period the Commission have suggested that States should forego the tax that they levy at present on non-resident dealers. We have considered this matter carefully and feel that on the whole it is right to accept this suggestion. I understand that in any event the tax proceeds from non-resident dealers represent only a small portion of the total sales-tax revenue. I am quite aware that, until such

\*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

time as the long-term proposals are worked out, the exclusion of inter-State transactions from sales tax may raise a few complications; but, on balance, I feel that it would be desirable to suspend the collection of sales tax on non-resident dealers from the current financial year. The difficulties to trade, particularly in respect of products of cottage industries, are very real and I am keen that, pending implementation of the long-term recommendations of the Commission, we should remove the immediate inconveniences of inter-State trade by foregoing this tax.

I shall be grateful if you would kindly look into this matter most urgently and let me know what action you are taking.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 26

In flight—Bombay to Cairo  
5 June, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you from an unusual place. We are flying high up over the Arabian Sea in the first lap of our journey to the Soviet Union. For the last few days I have been anxious to write to you. I was reluctant to leave India without sending you my usual fortnightly letter. But the pressure of work was so great that I could not manage this.

2 Yesterday I went to Khadakvasala, near Poona, to see the new habitation of our National Defence Academy.<sup>1</sup> Five years ago I laid the foundation-stone of one of the principal buildings there.<sup>2</sup> Now many novel buildings have grown up and life and vitality have come to this lovely corner of nature. This morning I was present at the passing-out parade of the cadets and I felt proud and happy to see the bearing of the hundreds of boys and young men who had come there for training from all parts of India.

3 My visits abroad, often arranged rather casually and with no specific purpose in view and under pressure of repeated invitations, sometimes assume a special importance because of other happenings. So it was when I went to China last year, so it is now that I am journeying to the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe. For a considerable time past I have been pressed to go to the Soviet Union. The idea of going to this great country naturally appealed to me, for here a great experiment had

1 The National Defence Academy set up at Dehra Dun on 1 January 1949 was shifted to Khadakvasala in 1955.

2 On 6 1949

been carried out and was still in process of development and all inquiring and inquisitive minds must necessarily be interested in it, whether they approve of it or not. Perhaps we are yet too near it to judge it objectively, even though nearly thirty-eight years have passed since the Russian Revolution. And yet it is obvious that mighty changes have taken place in this vast area of the earth's surface and through novel methods, good or ill, large numbers of human beings have been conditioned in a new way.

4 I remember reading in the thirties the great work of the Webbs<sup>3</sup>: *Soviet Communism-A New Civilization*. I wondered then and I wonder still what this new civilization is. What are the enduring elements in it, what are superficial and will pass away. Is this a new religion that has appeared in human history with all the vitality and aggressiveness of a new faith, even though it puts on an economic garb? Is it a basic philosophy which gives us some understanding of the complexities of human relations and of the great and often tragic drama of man's adventure since first *Homo sapiens* appeared on the surface of the earth? Does it give us some glimpse of the future?

5 Bred up in the Gandhian tradition, and in the early twenties finding it largely satisfying, I had no need to search for new faiths and philosophies. But that tradition did not provide an adequate economic picture; it did condition us, however, in thinking in terms of peaceful action and high standards of behaviour. Both peaceful action and standards of behaviour appeared to be lacking in the Russian experiment and even in its philosophy, and so many of us reacted strongly against these methods and technique of action. We were prepared to excuse much in the peculiar circumstances of revolutions and war and a struggle for survival. But when this continued and this technique was even made into a philosophy and applied to other countries, when there were repeated purges and the like, then there were further doubts and distaste.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb This book was published in 1932.

6 Nevertheless the economic appeal remained. Could the new economic approach, shorn of its violence and coercion and suppression of individual liberty, be helpful in solving our problems or the world's problems? The older methods, evolved by the capitalist world, had failed and offered no solution. Indeed they had led to great wars and they themselves, whatever their protestations, were based on violence and suppression of countries and peoples, and lack of integrity and moral approach.

7. These doubts and questionings I shared with many people, not only in my own country but in the world. There was no easy answer. Only by action and continuous effort and trial and error, could we proceed along the dimly lit path of the present towards an uncertain future. And whatever our decisions might be, events in other parts of the world could come in our way and influence them and even obstruct them.

8. These thoughts and others came back to me as I journeyed through the air to this land of revolutions and change. And then I thought of the political aspect of my visit. For, however casually it might have been undertaken, and with no special thought of international events, in peoples' minds it was inextricably mixed up with the political picture of the world. Indeed, it cannot be separated from it for independent India cannot escape her responsibilities and as our country grows in stature so also grow her duties and obligations and I cannot go anywhere as a private citizen. I have become too intimate a part of India to be able to function privately and individually.

9. I go now when all kinds of developments have taken place in the world of international affairs and no one quite knows where these might lead to. There is a hope and an aspiration in the minds of millions of men and women all over the world that at long last they might move out of the dark night of fear and suspicion, of cold war threatening to merge into the terrible horror of an atomic war. But so many attempts have failed previously, so many hopes have been shattered there is so much evil and hatred in the world that

people had almost come to believe in the inevitability of this final act in this tragic drama. Dare one hope still? And yet without hope and faith in the future, how can one function?

10 Fortunately for us in India, there is today far less of frustration than in most other parts of the world. Even though we have a multitude of problems, and difficulties surround us and often appear to overwhelm, there is the air of hope in this country, a faith in our future and a certain reliance on the basic principles that have guided us thus far. There is the breath of the dawn, the feeling of the beginning of a new era in the long and chequered history of India. I feel so and in this matter at least I think I represent innumerable others in our country.

11 I write about international affairs and the Soviet Union, and yet my mind clings to India and what we are going to do there. What of our second Five Year Plan which is slowly taking shape in our minds and, to some extent, on paper? I wrote to you about this in my last letter and drew your attention to some pamphlets recently issued on behalf of the Planning Commission.

12. I called this a new approach. What exactly did this mean? It can very well be said that there is nothing very new in it. And yet it does represent a new turn in our thinking. Some people argue about physical planning and financial planning as if these were two diametrically opposed methods. Neither has been ignored in the past or can be ignored in the future. In the past, we had to keep the physical aspect in view and frame some targets accordingly. In the future, we must always keep our resources in mind or else our planning becomes merely wishful thinking. While we have always to keep both of these in view as the foundations for our planning, yet there is not only the question of emphasis but, what is more important, a balancing of the various sectors of our national activity so as to yield the highest results. We have to think of production and consumption, in terms of our physical needs, and of work and employment. We have to calculate in so far as we can with our available data so as to produce an optimum

combination of various factors and policies. This is where real planning comes in.

13. We could not do this in framing our first Five Year Plan. We had no adequate data or experience and were rather tied down to the works we had already undertaken. Even now we have not got enough data and information. But we have something to go upon and we shall no doubt progressively add to it. Every Plan we make will have to be flexible so as to enable us to vary it with greater knowledge and fuller experience.

14. It is this new emphasis on this aspect of planning to which I would like to draw your particular attention. Because this should govern your own State Plans. It will not be very helpful to the Planning Commission if you send them mere lists of projects and schemes. You should work them out in a balanced way and, more especially, showing how they affect employment.

15. This approach to planning in India is unique in its own way. Of course, some other countries have tried something like it and done so in a very rigid way, but the entire background there was very different and the objectives were also not the same as ours. We have to function in the framework of a democratic set-up and our methods have to be peaceful. Therefore we have to convince our people and carry them with us. There is going to be no authoritarianism and, on the whole, we aim at a decentralized economy. In no other country in the world has this experiment been tried in this way. I have no doubt that if we succeed, as we must, this will have powerful repercussions all over the world.

16. You will have noticed that stress is now being laid on the development of heavy industry on one side, and at the other end, the widespread organization of village industries. Without heavy industry we can never make India a modern, prosperous and strong nation. But without village industries on a vast scale we shall not be able to go far in providing employment. Village industries must therefore produce many of our consumer goods.

17 Of all the problems before us the biggest is this organization of village industries on a co-operative basis. The Planning Commission has just appointed a small expert committee<sup>4</sup> under Dr. Karve's<sup>5</sup> chairmanship to consider this.

18 The Central Government has also appointed a resources committee<sup>6</sup> to consider what resources we can rely upon in our planning and how far we can add to them. It is obvious that we cannot go too far in planning if we have to function within the limits of our present available resources. Nor can we rely much on outside aid. We have therefore to think hard as to how we can add to our resources position. I should like you to give thought to this important matter. Potentially our resources are great in manpower and, I think, even in money, if we can reach the small man and he is prepared to help a little. We may go in for compulsory savings. We may raise the money locally for local projects. We might perhaps make part payment for labour in loan scrips. This subject requires full consideration.

19. I suppose you have received from the Planning Commission the evaluation report on the second year's working of the community projects. This is a valuable and important document which deserves careful study with a view to our remedying our faults. But while the report tells us of our errors in omission and commission, it also tells us of the mighty changes that these projects and the national extension service are bringing about in rural India. Truly

4. The Village and Small Scale Industries (second Five Year Plan) Committee was set up on 28 June 1955.

5 D.G. Karve (1898-1967). Economist; Director, Programme Evaluation, Planning Commission, 1952-55; Chairman, Village and Small Scale Industries Committee, 1955; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1954-55; Vice-Chancellor, University of Pune, 1959-61.

6 A Cabinet Committee with Nehru as Chairman and P C M... as one of the members was appointed by the Cabinet on 1 May 1955.

2 June 1955

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this is a magnificent movement which is bringing dynamism and social change to the 80% of our village population. It is revolutionary and far-reaching in its effects and already it is attracting the world's attention

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
20 July, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was sent I think from Cairo. As you know, I have recently returned from my long tour.<sup>1</sup> I enclose a note on this tour. I am afraid this note is rather rambling and does not deal with many important subjects which I should have liked to discuss, but it will at least give you some idea of the impressions I formed.

2. As I write this, the Four Power Conference is taking place in Geneva.<sup>2</sup> I shall not attempt to forecast what the result of this will be. But I have a definite feeling that gradually a turn is taking place in international affairs, a turn for the better. But, there are innumerable hurdles and difficulties, and one must not expect too much to happen too soon.

3. The major question for discussion at Geneva will probably be Germany. That indeed is a vital problem for the future of Europe and affects the world. And yet, a more immediate and more explosive problem is that of the Far East and, more especially, of the Formosa Straits. It is in regard to this that we have been trying to create conditions so that there might be direct talks between China and the U.S.A. I cannot say that we have succeeded but I believe some little progress has been made. Anyhow, the mere fact that

1. 13 May 1955

2. Edgar Faure of France, N. Bulganin of the Soviet Union, Anthony Eden of Britain and D D Eisenhower of the United States met from 18 to 23 July 1955 to discuss European unity in unification, disunity and contacts between the East and the West.

there has been more or less a lull in military operations in the Formosa Straits is itself some gain.

4 The situation in the Indo-China States has grown worse. There have been difficulties in Cambodia because of the U.S.A.—Cambodia Military Aid Agreement. For the moment, they are likely to be got over. In Laos again, there is continuous tension, but the Commission under India's chairmanship is doing a good piece of work and trying to hold the position together. Our object is to get the rival parties themselves to meet and come to agreements. The Commission has succeeded in getting them to meet both at the military level and the political level.<sup>3</sup> These talks have, however, not yielded any results thus far.

5 The real difficulty in Indo-China is in Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreement, talks about the elections in Vietnam next year should begin today, 20th July. But the South Vietnam Premier, Diem, has recently issued a statement<sup>4</sup> repudiating any liability arising from the Geneva Agreement which he says South Vietnam did not sign. Further, he has laid down all kinds of conditions which are obviously meant to avoid elections.<sup>5</sup> Diem is correct in saying that South Vietnam did not sign the Agreement, but at the time of the Geneva Conference France was the dominant power in South Vietnam, and it was France that signed it. It was subsequent to this that Vietnam got some kind of theoretical independance. As a successor State to France in Vietnam, the Government now there is bound by France's engagements. I am afraid that we are

3 Discussions began on 15 July between the representatives of the Royal Government and Pathet Lao forces on questions of general elections, integration of the Laotian people as a nation, and methods of ensuring civil liberties. Discussions also took place at a military level between the two sides to implement a ceasefire.

4 On 16 July 1955.

5 Diem made negotiations for the unification of the country conditional on the North Vietnam giving clear proof of placing national interests above communism

heading for some trouble in Vietnam unless some way out of this deadlock is found.

6. Since my return to India, I have naturally been much concerned about developments in Goa.<sup>6</sup> We shall be considering these carefully soon. But of one thing I am quite clear: we must adhere to peaceful methods and we should avoid any development, such as mass satyagraha, which will necessarily come in the way of peaceful action in the future.

7. This is a brief letter, but my note on my tour is a long one and will take up some of your time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. From 18 May 1955 about 800 satyagrahis had entered Goa in support of the Goan nationalists. Nine of them were arrested while others returned. There was demand for 'police action' and support of the mass satyagraha including a limited war by the Hindu Maha, Jan Sangh and the Praja Socialist Party

*Enclosure\**

## I

I find some difficulty in writing this note about my recent tour. This is not for lack of material but rather because of the very abundance of the impressions that I have gathered. These impressions are naturally rather mixed up, because they succeeded each other in rapid succession. Also, it would not be right for me to come to definite conclusions about the policies or the conditions prevailing in the countries I visited after a rush tour.

2 All I can do is to put down the impressions I gathered during this visit. Those impressions, of course, have some considerable value for me and, I believe, for others. I have a fairly wide acquaintance with foreign countries, and there are certain standards by which we can compare. Also, I have some knowledge of the historical, political, and economic backgrounds of these countries during the past forty years or more.

3 There is always a danger in a person being affected one way or the other by seeing, what might be called, one side of the picture. He may see the bright spots and become enthusiastic. He might, on the other hand, only see some of the darker aspects and then condemn the whole. Both, obviously, would not present a correct picture. I have been asked by journalists about the "iron curtain". I might be asked (though no one has put this question to me thus far) about "slave labour" or "concentration camps" in the Soviet Union. We all know that during past years it has been difficult for people to enter the Soviet Union unless they are approved of by the Soviet Government. It is true that latterly

there has been much relaxation of this practice, and more and more people are invited to go there and have actually visited the U.S.S.R. Even now, however, the Soviet Union is a less known country as a whole than most other countries in Europe or elsewhere. Reliable data and statistics are not easily available, and there are certain parts of the Union which might be said to be closed to outside visitors.

4 As for the so-called "slave labour" and "concentration camps", I am wholly unable to say anything from personal knowledge or even from second-hand knowledge. I have read some accounts of persons who have come away from the U.S.S.R. giving rather horrible accounts of some of these "labour camps". Those accounts might be exaggerated or might be true. I think it is more or less established that there are a considerable number of German and Japanese prisoners still in the Soviet Union. They are said to have been condemned as war criminals. Also, I think it is true that convicted prisoners in the Soviet Union are put in camps to undertake public works like digging of canals or some kind of construction. It is probable that political suspects are also put in these or similar camps and made to work. What their treatment is, I cannot say. Probably it is true that there has been very harsh treatment in the past in some cases at least.

5 It does not need any proof to say that in the Soviet Union there is no civil liberty as we know it or as the term implies. For persons who oppose the present regime publicly, there is no safety and they are likely to be punished in some way or other or detained. The political structure of the Government and administration is quite different from such as we are used to, and it is a little difficult to understand it or appreciate it because of this great difference. It is equally difficult for us to take an objective view of it because of our own habits of thought.

6. So far as the economic structure is concerned, it might be said to be a completely new experiment in human organization. The only way to consider it objectively is to forget or set aside the coercive technique of communism and try to understand it purely as an economic system. But in

order to have some real understanding of the background in the Soviet Union, two facts have to be borne in mind. One is obviously the historical background of that vast area: the autocratic regime before the Revolution, the complete lack of civil liberty then, the backwardness of the country and more especially of the agricultural classes, the continuation of the serfdom till a period almost in living memory. Conditions of course in the past differed greatly in various parts of the U.S.S.R. In Central Asian parts of it, there was even greater backwardness. It was out of this past that the Soviet Union emerged.

7 The second very important fact to remember is that ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, the leaders and the people of the Soviet Union have had the sensation of being surrounded by danger and by hostile forces. During this period, they have passed through two major wars, a civil war and intervention by foreign powers, apart from internal problems and difficulties. The first ten years were a period of World War I, civil war, and intervention. The Soviet Union was in some ways at the lowest ebb in the middle twenties. Then started a period of building up, the Five Year Plans, etc. By the end of the thirties came the Second World War which spread to the Soviet Union a little later and brought terrific destruction both of life and property. Much that had been built up during the previous decade was destroyed. Soon after the Second World War ended began the "cold war" with its ever-impending threat of developing into World War III.

8 It is not material for us to consider in this context as to who was at fault and how far all these troubles and hostility from other countries were the result of Soviet ambition or aggressiveness. There is no doubt that there was this aggressiveness after the Second World War, but the point is that whoever might have been responsible for this "cold war", the effect on the Soviet Union was to create apprehension and a continuing sense of danger.

9 Thus, ever since the Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union has experienced what might be called a war psychosis

We know the effects of war on a country engaged in such a war. Even highly democratic countries suppress many of their civil liberties at the time of war, and many kinds of compulsions, including military compulsion, become part of the daily routine. If, therefore, we are to understand the psychological background of the Soviet Union not only now but during the past thirty-eight years of its existence, we must consider it as if it was under the strain of war or fear of war, which resulted not only in affecting its policy towards other countries but also in limiting normal freedoms within the Union itself. From time to time, there have been spy scares and many people, including probably large numbers of innocent persons, have suffered. All this, arising from fear, creates a certain psychology which throws up a particular type of person. We have had some very hard and cruel leaders in the Soviet Union, the latest admitted example being that of Beria.<sup>1</sup> All this has prevented the establishment of what might be called normal conditions. Every revolution, big or small, gradually settles down. The gains of the revolution or many of them, are retained, and excesses of the revolution fade away. The great French Revolution went through terrific excesses. It was followed by a counter-revolution and Napoleon. Later, France, while retaining many of the gains of that Revolution, became one of the most staid and conservative countries of Europe. The Soviet Union apparently never had a full chance to settle down in this way, and therefore the return to normality has been delayed.

10 To refer back to the French Revolution again. The ideals of the French Revolution powerfully affected Europe for a hundred years. Nearly sixty years after that Revolution, there was what is called a Year of Revolutions in Europe—1848. Those revolutions were more or less suppressed. But those ideals of the French Revolution persisted and gradually brought about, in different ways, great changes in Europe. Italy became free, a new Germany arose, and so on.

<sup>1</sup> I A. Beria. For b fn. see Vo 3 364

Oddly enough, even while the French Revolution was taking place, it was slightly out-of-date, in the sense that it ignored a vaster revolution that was creeping across Western Europe—the Industrial Revolution. So, in the nineteenth century, the political and human ideals of the French Revolution as well as the new industrial societies being created by the industrial revolution began to shape Western Europe and America. Russia was outside the scope of both.

## II

11 I have referred to this past history so that we might have a true perspective of events. Without that background knowledge we are apt to misunderstand the present and its problems. Of course, in considering other parts of the world like China or India or South East Asia or Western Asia, the backgrounds would be different and the forces at play more various and mixed. For the present, however, I am dealing with the U.S.S.R. There a curious and a unique combination of events brought about the success of the revolution and the application of an economic theory as well as a technique of action. That economic theory, Marxism, was largely based on a remarkable study of industrial conditions in England in the first half of the nineteenth century. The technique of action was derived from certain forces at work in Europe then and certain incidents such as that of the Paris Commune. It is well-known that Marx<sup>2</sup> did not envisage the application of his methods in a backward country like Russia. But the combination of a corrupt, inefficient and played out autocracy, defeat in war and the misery that came in its train, the breakdown of the administration and economic system, and a brilliant leader Lenin<sup>3</sup> led to that success.

12 It is interesting and instructive to analyze the recent

history of other Communist countries and how the success of the Communist Party there was achieved. Each case stands on a different footing. China is completely different and can be said to have evolved its revolution itself and through its own strength. But again one sees there the complete collapse of the previous regime and the breakdown of the administration and economic system by nearly forty years of civil war, warlords, Japanese invasion and world war. The Chiang Kai-shek regime was thoroughly corrupt and inefficient and really faded away through its own ineptness. In the countries of Eastern Europe, there can be little doubt that communism came in because of the strength of Russian arms after the Second World War. But here again there are differences in each country. In Yugoslavia, the powerful resistance movement built up under Marshal Tito was Communist and nationalist. Undoubtedly, it was helped by the Allied arms, but it had strength of its own. In Poland also there was a powerful nationalist Communist movement. In the terrible destruction of Poland by the German army it was this movement of resistance that played a notable part while other internal movements on the whole faded away. In Czechoslovakia it might be said that communism was imposed by Russian arms.

13 Another pertinent fact to remember is that nearly all the countries of Eastern Europe which are under Communist sway at present, with the exception of East Germany, are Slav in race and language. Thus there is some link and identity of interest between them and Russia. In a sense it might be said that apart from China and the Far East, the countries that have become Communist are the Slav countries of Eastern Europe. All of them except Czechoslovakia and East Germany, were backward socially and economically and standards were low.

14. The Soviet Union, after the Second World War, was in a position of great strength in Eastern Europe. It had probably some of the old Czarist ambitions to spread out, more especially over the Slav areas. It had also the desire to protect itself in the future by having as many friendly

countries as possible next to its borders. The easiest way to have a friendly country appeared to them to have a Communist regime there under their patronage. Some small countries like Latvia and Lithuania were just absorbed. It was difficult for these small countries to exist by themselves in the modern world. They had to be under some big Power's patronage and Russia was nearest and took them into its lap. The possession of Germany was a big prize for both the major contestants. In the result it was divided.

15 Instead of this extension of the Soviet power giving it greater security, it led to more difficult problems and conflicts. The fears and apprehensions of the Western countries at the expansion of the Soviet power led them to organize themselves not only in Europe but practically all over the world. The "cold war" began. At the same time, scientific and technological developments led to atomic weapons and hydrogen bombs. Both major groups started a race for rearmament and, more especially, for the development of these new methods of mass slaughter. To begin with, the Soviet Union was very strong on land, while the Western Allies were strong in the air. Gradually, the Soviet Union caught up in the air and perhaps even went ahead and even in regard to the hydrogen bombs it made great progress. Meanwhile, a chain of over two hundred bases was established by the Western Allies, chiefly by the United States of America, all round the Soviet Union and China, right from the Arctic Sea downwards. Also, the question of German rearmament was taken up.

16 Thus, while on the one hand the great power of the Soviet Union frightened the Western countries, the Soviet Union itself was equally frightened by this chain of atomic bases and even more so by the prospect of German rearmament. It must be remembered that twice in our own life-time Russia and the Eastern European countries have been overrun by German armies and the people in these countries have vivid memories of the vast suffering and destruction caused by these armies. In addition there were the horrible concentration camps with gas chambers where

an International Commission found that millions of people, chiefly Jews, were done to death. I saw one of these in Poland and it was a horrible and almost unbearable sight. Thus all over Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, there is fear of German rearmament. There is that fear also in France which has suffered three German invasions within eighty years. France had a double fear: that of the Soviet on one side and of a rearmed Germany on the other, and French policies have been torn between these two fears.

17 Thus the world has gradually drifted towards the verge of war in Europe over the question of Germany and German rearmament. In the Far East the situation has become even more explosive. But at the same time a realization has come to peoples in all countries and even their leaders and rulers that a new world war would be something unimaginably destructive and ruinous. That fear has acted as a salutary check and perhaps has been instrumental in turning men's minds to the quest of peace as perhaps never before. For people in Europe especially, whether in the East or the West, war is something that they know and have suffered from. They do not want it again.

18 This was the background in my mind when I started this tour of mine. This, in a different way, was the background of the peoples in the countries I visited and this perhaps is the dominating factor of the Four-Power Conference now being held in Geneva.

19 Apart from the Soviet Union, I visited Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Rome, England and Cairo. On my return journey, I passed through Dusseldorf in Germany. Although the stay in Dusseldorf was for an hour and a half, it was significant as a large and enthusiastic crowd of Germans had gathered at the airport and remained there throughout my stay. Not only did I visit these various countries of Europe and Asia, but I flew over vast tracts of land and sea. I crossed the whole of Russia and a good part of the Asian Republics in the Soviet Union. I crossed the whole of Europe, circling round ice-covered Mont Blanc on the way. Normally we flew high but sometimes we could see

clearly the land and the sea below. It was fascinating to observe the changes from ice-covered mountains to forests and seas and to vast tracts of cultivated land. Even this cultivated land indicated the nature of the land system followed in the country I visited or flew over. Thus, there were small fields, like a succession of carpets, indicating cultivation by peasant farmers. At other places, there were much larger areas of wheat fields, etc., which indicated State farms or collective farms. In Siberia, where virgin lands were being brought under cultivation on a big scale, we had some experience of the vast uninhabited Siberian plain. Motoring for a hundred miles, we did not come across a single village and hardly any human beings; all that we saw were occasionally small tractor stations or a bigger centre for these tractors and the people who were working them. Several millions of acres of virgin land have been brought under cultivation in Central Siberia and in parts of Kazhakistan, adding greatly to the food production. In these areas of Central Asia, the climate is extreme. It is quite hot in summer and in winter the temperature goes down to 40 degrees or more below zero.

20. Another interesting aspect came before me as I travelled from one country to another. Russia was and is a country with its own look, quite apart from communism. It had been affected by Europe of course, as well as by past Asian invasions, but it had a certain individuality of its own. Being a very big country, it had maintained its individuality in spite of outside influences. The people, the architecture and much else was not European in the real sense of the world, although there was much of Europe in them. Moving eastward to Georgia, there was a greater element of Asia. In Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazhakistan there was even more of Asia. It is true that all these Asian Republics of the Soviet Union now bore a strong impress of the Soviet political and economic structure. In Uzbekistan and Kazhakistan facial types were different. Although European clothing was common both for men and women there were many people especially villagers who were wearing their

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native dress. Both the facial types and the dress of men and women often resembled closely that we might see in Kashmir today. In the Uzbek language I recognized quite a number of words in common use in India. Presumably, the common origin was Persian.

21 As we moved westward from Russia to Poland, the impress of Europe became more evident. The people there had a little more style in dress and generally were slightly more European in various ways. In Russia and the rest of the Soviet Union, while people were generally adequately clad, there was no attempt at style or fit in dress. No marked difference was noticeable in dress in various grades of people. Proceeding from Poland to Vienna, we came suddenly into the heart of European culture. Vienna and Paris have probably represented the spirit of European culture more than any other city or part of Europe. London, of course, is Europe, but it is insular and slightly cut off from the full stream of European culture. Vienna has been in the past and still is today a gracious city paying more attention to music and the arts as well as the sciences. The city of Vienna, and indeed the whole of Austria, was taking intense interest in the rebuilding of their famous Opera House which had been largely destroyed during the War. They were spending vast sums of money on it. It represented to them something much more than a building or even a home of music. It represented the soul of Vienna and there was an emotional approach to this reconstruction of the great home of music. Fortunately, this had coincided with the recent agreement on the independence of Austria. Early in November next Austria will celebrate both its independence and the opening of the new Opera House in Vienna.

22 The journey from Salzburg to Yugoslavia took us again into a different world, which was not wholly Europe. Within Yugoslavia there were great differences in language, historical background and national cultures. A part of Yugoslavia had remained for five hundred years or so under Austrian or Hungarian domination. Another part had remained for a like period under Turkish rule. Some parts

had varying independence. One small area, that of Dubrovnik also called Ragusa), having a population of less than fifty thousand, had maintained its independence for a thousand years. This was a great port rivalling Venice in its trade. This small city actually had about 220 consular establishments all round the Mediterranean during the middle ages.

23 Yugoslavia has a substantial Muslim population and we saw many men and women in some parts dressed in their old traditional style, the women often wearing the dress which we had associated with pictures of Turkish harems. They did not wear any veils. There were some fine buildings and mosques dating back from the time of Suleiman the Magnificent. We were told by Marshal Tito that he had no trouble with the Muslims or with the Orthodox Church, but he had some trouble with the Roman Catholic Church because it had interfered in political matters.

### III

24 I do not propose to give a detailed account of what I saw in the various countries. Lengthy accounts have appeared in the press about our tour and cinema films have also given some intimate glimpses of the kind of reception we had wherever we went. I could not sit down anywhere to study the political or economic system in detail. But I did get a large number of impressions and collected some odd facts.

25 Prague was the first city I went to, a city I had visited sixteen years earlier, just before the Second World War. It was a lovely city and it used to be full of life and vitality. It is lovely still, but life and vitality were lacking. I had a feeling of depression and unhappiness when I was there. Statistics, I believe, show that industrial progress has been made in many ways and that production is growing, but the large middle class of Czechoslovakia have obviously suffered and are unhappy. We stayed in a lovely old villa with a magnificent view of the city and I had a long and interesting

talk with the Prime Minister.<sup>4</sup> The President<sup>5</sup> gave a large reception at night where about 3,000 guests came.

26 I did not have any such feeling of depression or unhappiness in the other countries that I visited. In Poland there was a feeling of self-confidence and the construction work done there after the terrible destruction by the Germans was remarkable. There was a sense of pride in their achievements and the popular welcome to me was also a far bigger one than in Prague. Indeed, in the Silesian basin, which is a coal and iron ore area and a forest of chimneys and factories, the welcome was overwhelming. The most gruesome place we visited during all our tour was Oswicim, the former Nazi concentration camp, where millions of Jews were done to death. The present Prime Minister<sup>6</sup> of Poland himself spent a year and a half in this camp.

27. Nearby was Cracow, a very attractive medieval city with a big university. It was interesting to see how the Poles were preserving the old city as it was. The damage done to the old castle and market-place had been repaired at considerable cost so as to reproduce the old style and atmosphere of the middle ages.

28 Near Cracow, a completely new town had grown up during the last four years. This is called Nowa Huta, and a vast steel works, called the Lenin Steel Works, has come into existence. Four or five years ago there were fields where Nowa Huta now stands. Now it is a city of eighty thousand and growing rapidly. This new city is the pride of Poland and the engineers in charge of the steel works were full of enthusiasm.

29 Warsaw has got a magnificent palace of science and culture, a gift by the Soviet Government to the Polish

4. Vilham Široky (1902-1971). Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1945-53 and Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1950-53; Prime Minister, 1953-63

5. Antonín Zapotocký (1884-1957). Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1948-53; President, 1953-57.

6. Józef Cyrankiewicz (b. 1911) Prime Minister of Poland, 1947-52 and 1954-70 President 1970- Chai World Peace Council since 1973

nation. It is a thirty-two storeyed building and has thousands of rooms and halls.

30 I visited an automobile plant in Warsaw, recently put up with the help of Soviet technicians. What surprised me was that the export price of their car was equivalent to about one thousand dollars while the local sale price was nearly four thousand dollars. Needless to say there was little private sale of this car in Poland itself and it was used chiefly for official purposes. There was, however, considerable export to distant countries, chiefly in South America, where presumably it could compete with American cars. I was told that the difference between the local and the export price was due to the undertaking being new and its production being still on a low scale. Therefore, they charged the overheads chiefly to the local market. Later, when production was at full swing, the two prices would approximate to each other.

31 In Poland, as elsewhere, we saw magnificent Palaces of Youth. We visited the Opera also.

32 I was presented with the latest type of a fine stereoaudiographic machine as a gift from the Polish nation to the people of India.

33 From Yugoslavia we had gone to Rome which, because of its history and tradition, is full of attraction. The city seemed full of activity and the narrow streets were crowded. But the city, and possibly the country, gave me the impression of the past and not of the future. The people seemed to lack purpose and vitality and there was an air of decadence. The politics of Italy, of course, are in a curious and confused state. Indeed, a new Government was installed there the night before we arrived<sup>7</sup> and the first official

7. A coalition government was formed by Antonio Segni on 6 July following the resignation of Moria Scelpa on 22 June after failing to resolve the differences between the various coalition units of his Cabinet.

function of the new Prime Minister<sup>8</sup> was to welcome us early next morning.

34. In all the countries we visited we saw magnificent old palaces, and sometimes stayed in them. There were the paintings and tapestries and other rare articles from the middle ages, whether it was in Moscow or Leningrad or Warsaw or Prague or Vienna with its tradition of Maria Teresa and the Imperial Hapsburgs. But probably the Vatican and Quirinale Palaces in Rome exceed all these in sheer magnificence.

#### IV

35 I had a vague recollection of Moscow derived from my visit there twenty-seven years ago. The new Moscow that I saw reminded me a little of that old impression, more especially in regard to the Kremlin, but essentially it was different. It struck me now not only as a great city but as representing a certain dignity, vitality and purpose Leningrad was the more attractive city, or at any rate I liked it better, but Moscow had much more of the old Russia plus the new industrialism. The streets or avenues were amazingly broad, sometimes 300 ft. or 400 ft. Evidently, it was being built for the future with a definite plan in view Sector by sector, it was being refashioned according to this plan. There were five or six skyscrapers of about thirty or more storeys. The biggest building was the Moscow University. Another skyscraper was the new Foreign Office. On the outskirts of Moscow, there were still some old dilapidated huts visib' But, generally speaking, Moscow was putting on this new look.

36 The streets were full of traffic and the pavements appeared to be always crowded. I was surprised to see the

large number of automobiles in the streets. There were many trucks and lorries and buses, but there were also quite a considerable number of private cars. There were some luxurious Zis cars, meant chiefly for official purposes, and more humble five or four-seater cars. I learnt that the private demand for these smaller cars was much greater than the supply. Altogether the city gave an impression of strength and activity.

37 All over the Soviet Union, the most striking feature was the care given to the children and boys and girls. There are, I believe, good schools although I did not go to many. But, apart from this, there are Palaces of the Pioneers. The Pioneers is an organization of children and boys and girls from six to about fourteen or fifteen. The best buildings often old palaces or new structures, were given to them. These Pioneers' Palaces were full of rooms for children, games and numerous technical sections where children could play about with handicrafts and model machines and thus get used to machinery. There were rooms for teaching music, painting and dancing, and games were provided for them. There were also sanatoria and rest houses for the Pioneers in health resorts, especially in the Crimea. I was told that last year five million children had a month's holiday each in these health resorts. The Pioneers' Palaces are supposed to fill in some kind of a gap between the home and the school, and to be supplementary to both. I could not make out what home life children had because most of their time must necessarily be taken up either by school or by these Pioneer activities. And yet Russian people are undoubtedly fond of their children, and there is a tendency now to lay some stress on home life. In any event, children are probably better provided for and looked after in the Soviet Union than almost anywhere. There were also lovely parks especially for children.

38. The second basic impression that I got in the Soviet Union was of construction everywhere I went. Public buildings, apartment houses, factories, etc., were growing up everywhere. A very considerable section of the working

population was engaged in construction work. The Soviet Union had already become a highly industrialized community. This was not merely because of the number of factories, etc., but rather because of the stress on the technical aspect of life which was visible at every stage. The difference between the city-dweller and the farmer was rapidly disappearing as the farmer himself was using machines more and more.

39. I was struck repeatedly by certain similarities between the Americans and the Russians who today are so hostile to each other. Both are very friendly and hospitable people, easy to get on with, if once the barrier is removed. Once they are friendly, they are frank and cordial. Both have made a god of the machine and have developed or are developing a highly technical civilization. The United States are undoubtedly more advanced in technique and industrialization in many ways. But in the Soviet Union the foundations to bring about this change are even broader and from childhood up the machine impinges on every person. Both the Russians and the Americans, if unfriendly, become rather unbalanced in that direction. At the present moment, the production of engineers and other kinds of technicians in the Soviet Union is prodigious, exceeding, I am told, the numbers produced in the United States. In fact, people in the Soviet Union will gradually all be engineers, technicians or scientists of some grade or other. There is no doubt that they have already some top-ranking scientists, engineers, etc. Probably before long, they will have a vast reservoir of trained people to draw upon, bigger than that of any other country including the United States.

40. Another striking feature of the Soviet Union is the stress laid on athletics and games. There are big stadiums in the cities and sometimes a city may have more than one. Children begin early, at the Pioneer stage, and there is all the stress of organized propaganda in favour of athletics. In games, the Soviet Union has already done very well. Football is very popular and, to some extent hockey and water polo. Russians have won international fame in football and ice hockey.

41. There is a deliberate attempt to encourage music and art and there are conservatories of music in many cities. I rather doubt if the modern painting of Russia is of a particularly high standard. But I am no judge. The ballet, both in Moscow and Leningrad, is superb and there is nothing to compare with it elsewhere in the world. This is really a continuation of the old Czarist tradition and the theme and music also date back.

42. There are numerous big libraries and the reading habit in Russia is said to be widespread. It must be remembered that the type of books that are available are seldom of the very light literature that is popular in other countries. Apart from technical books which are issued in vast numbers, old classics, both of Russia and of other countries in translations, are popular. It was surprising to find ordinary folk reading some of these old classics. I suppose that literacy having spread rapidly, there is this hunger for reading. This is likely to bring about far-reaching changes in the mental outlook of the growing generation, in spite of the fact that only certain limited types of books are available.

43. In regard to children, I should like to mention also that many cities have what is called a children's railway. This is a regular railway of a very small size, worked entirely by children. In one part attached to a Pioneer establishment, I found that boys of about ten or twelve had built a model hydro-electric station which was actually supplying electricity.

44. Just as children have their rest homes and sanatoria, workers also have numerous such establishments and millions of them go annually for a month's holiday there. Most of these establishments are attached to some particular industry or to a Ministry or a Municipality. There is the eight-hour week, but work is concentrated and involved some strain. I had an impression that it was partly because of this strain that these rest homes and sanatoria were necessary.

45. In all the factories I visited, a large proportion of the workers were women. Normally they were about forty per

population was engaged in construction work. The Soviet Union had already become a highly industrialized community. This was not merely because of the number of factories, etc., but rather because of the stress on the technical aspect of life which was visible at every stage. The difference between the city-dweller and the farmer was rapidly disappearing as the farmer himself was using machines more and more.

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42 There are numerous big libraries and the reading habit in Russia is said to be widespread. It must be remembered that the type of books that are available are seldom of the very light literature that is popular in other countries. Apart from technical books which are issued in vast numbers, old classics, both of Russia and of other countries in translations, are popular. It was surprising to find ordinary folk reading some of these old classics. I suppose that literacy having spread rapidly, there is this hunger for reading. This is likely to bring about far-reaching changes in the mental outlook of the growing generation, in spite of the fact that only certain limited types of books are available.

43 In regard to children, I should like to mention also that many cities have what is called a children's railway. This is a regular railway of a very small size, worked entirely by children. In one part attached to a Pioneer establishment, I found that boys of about ten or twelve had built a model hydro-electric station which was actually supplying electricity.

44 Just as children have their rest homes and sanatoria, workers also have numerous such establishments and millions of them go annually for a month's holiday there. Most of these establishments are attached to some particular industry or to a Ministry or a Municipality. There is the eight-hour week, but work is concentrated and involved some strain. I had an impression that it was partly because of this strain that these rest homes and sanatoria were necessary.

45 In all the factories I visited a large proportion of the workers were women. Normally they were about forty per

population was engaged in construction work. The Soviet Union had already become a highly industrialized community. This was not merely because of the number of factories, etc., but rather because of the stress on the technical aspect of life which was visible at every stage. The difference between the city-dweller and the farmer was rapidly disappearing as the farmer himself was using machines more and more.

39. I was struck repeatedly by certain similarities between the Americans and the Russians who today are so hostile to each other. Both are very friendly and hospitable people, easy to get on with, if once the barrier is removed. Once they are friendly, they are frank and cordial. Both have made a god of the machine and have developed or are developing a highly technical civilization. The United States are undoubtedly more advanced in technique and industrialization in many ways. But in the Soviet Union the foundations to bring about this change are even broader and from childhood up the machine impinges on every person. Both the Russians and the Americans, if unfriendly, become rather unbalanced in that direction. At the present moment, the production of engineers and other kinds of technicians in the Soviet Union is prodigious, exceeding, I am told, the numbers produced in the United States. In fact, people in the Soviet Union will gradually all be engineers, technicians or scientists of some grade or other. There is no doubt that they have already some top-ranking scientists, engineers, etc. Probably before long, they will have a vast reservoir of trained people to draw upon, bigger than that of any other country including the United States.

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cent. Also young people were very much in evidence. The husband and wife are often both employed in the same factory and sometimes their grown-up son or daughter also. Thus the joint earning of the family is considerable. Wages are high and so are prices. But the price of bread and a few other necessities is low and so is rent. The lowest wage is about 500 roubles or a little less. The highest might be eight to ten times this. In an engineer's flat that I visited, the engineer, his wife, his son and daughter-in-law were jointly earning 8000 roubles a month. Even though prices are high, people generally appear to have plenty of money and there is a demand for some goods which are not easily available.

46. As I have said, there is no civil liberty as we know it. But I rather doubt if this lack of civil liberty is felt by the great majority of the people. This is so partly because they have not known civil liberty at any time and partly because in every country people are more concerned with their living conditions than with abstract notions of civil liberty. I suppose there are many people in the Soviet Union who may be dissatisfied with things as they are. But the general impression I got was one of contentment, as practically everyone is occupied and busy and no one seems to get much time for complaining, or if there are complaints, they are about relatively minor matters.

47. It must be remembered that practically everyone under fifty in Russia, that is, almost the entire active population, has grown up under the Soviet system and has been fully conditioned by it, not only by propaganda but much more so by his entire environment. Some old people might complain or think of the good old days but I doubt very much if there is any marked desire in the Soviet Union for a reversion to the old days. Indeed, I do not think it is conceivable that any major change can take place in the economic system. There may be, and probably will be, minor changes and adaptations, but the basic economic structure in industry and land will continue. In establishing this structure and, more especially, in collectivization of land, a tremendous price in human suffering was paid. That price has been paid

and a completely new structure has arisen and been well established. There can be no going back upon this. This may not apply to some of the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe where the changes have been more recent.

48. We thus see in the Soviet Union a new type of society growing up. It is a vital society, expanding not only in numbers and in the construction of new towns and cities and factories, etc., but fully conditioned to believe in the environment in which it lives. This society is becoming increasingly technical and fairly well-read. Its standards will necessarily go up with increasing production, provided there are no wars or big upsets. How far political restriction and lack of civil liberties will continue, I cannot say. I imagine that if fear of war and attack goes, there will be a progressive approach to normality and a measure of individual freedom may also come in its train. I do not think this will lead to the type of individual freedom that is known in some of the countries of the West, but a well-read and well-trained society is not likely to submit for long to many restrictions on individual freedom.

49. I am not discussing communism, either its technique or its ideology but rather thinking in terms of the gradual development of the Soviet people under pressure of various events. Marxism as applied to Russia by Lenin was probably somewhat different from what Marx himself thought. Stalin<sup>9</sup> varied this still more, and I have no doubt that this process of variation will continue in the Soviet Union to suit changing circumstances. In non-Communist countries, the Communist parties are rigid and out of touch with changing reality. There is no such compulsion in the Soviet Union as the high priests of communism there are free to give any interpretation. The essential basis of a socialist or a Communist society will, I think, remain but its outer structure may change from time to time. Also, if normality comes in, there is no reason to expect a continuance of Communist aggressiveness and interference elsewhere.

There is of course always a tendency for a great power to be expansive and to try to impose its will on others.

50. I think that the Russian outlook today is very definitely opposed to war. This is not so because of some moral scruples but for good practical reasons. They do not want destruction of what they have done, and the hydrogen bomb is an effective check today to ambitions even of Great Powers. But, apart from this, the Russians feel that they will make good in the economic field and raise their standards of living progressively. They want to demonstrate that they can produce as much as the United States, and they believe they can do so. I have no idea whether they can ultimately do so and, if so, how long it will take them, but there is no doubt that their standards will go up progressively and such inner tensions as might exist today will gradually disappear. When asked as to how long it will take them to have full-blooded communism, they replied that they required another four or five Five Year Plans, that is to say, about twenty-five years more. By this I presume they meant that in another twenty-five years' time they will produce an abundance of all necessary goods for their entire population, and that high standards will be obtained for everyone without too much labour.

51. It has been said frequently in the United States that the Soviet system is cracking up on the agricultural front and that recent Soviet moves in favour of peace are a sign of their internal weakness. In fact, it has been said that Russia is "on the run". I think that this is purely wishful thinking in the United States and nothing could be further off from the mark. There has been some difficulty in regard to agricultural production. I have no definite knowledge about it, but it is obviously not very serious and, with tens of millions of acres of virgin land being brought under cultivation, there will be no scarcity of foodgrains. In any event, whatever internal difficulties the Soviet Union may suffer from, there is no doubt that it is a strong and powerful nation, as stable as any other. If power is to be measured by scientific advance then undoubtedly the Soviet Union is in

the front rank. The recent air display in Moscow was evidence of their great advance in the latest types of weapons. Of machinery they produce almost everything. It is possible that American machines are sometimes better, but in quantity the Russians are simply pouring out all kinds of aeroplanes, tanks and every conceivable type of machinery. Marshal Tito, who is a wise observer, told me that for a variety of reasons he was convinced that the Soviet Union wanted peace but it would be dangerous thinking for the Western Powers to imagine that they can drive the U.S.S.R. too far.

52. The Soviet Union is the only country which has practically every mineral within its vast area. Even the United States lack some important minerals. England, with her colonies and dominions, probably also has almost everything, but this is spread out and not wholly under its control. No other country approaches this amplitude of resources. The two richest areas in the U.S.S.R. are the Ural region and the region round Alma Ata in Kazakhstan. In both these areas, almost every conceivable mineral is found. The Ural region was partly developed even before the Revolution but since then it has grown enormously and great industrial cities have spread out, like Magnitogorsk and Sverdlovsk. In the Alma Ata region, new towns and factories are springing up rapidly. Even apart from these two major regions, there are many new steel towns, such as Rustavi near Tiflis in Georgia.

53. In many of the factories I visited, there were large numbers of Chinese under training. I imagine there must be many thousands of them. Wherever any machinery was being made for China, there were these Chinese being trained to handle it. I was interested to find that the machines meant for China were stamped in Chinese characters.

54. I visited the following Republics of the U.S.S.R. Russian S.F.S.R., Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. I also visited the Tartar Autonomous Republic which is a part of the Russian

S F.S.R. and whose capital is Kazan. Kazan University is famous as the place where Lenin studied. Also Tolstoy<sup>10</sup> and Maxim Gorky<sup>11</sup> and Molotov.<sup>12</sup> Kazan is now a centre of heavy industry and has an opera in the Tartar language

55 It might be interesting to give some particulars about a big machine-making factory at Sverdlovsk. Construction was begun in 1928 and finished in 1933 with equipment from the United States and Germany. At first the simplest equipment was used as workers were inexperienced. As they improved, more complicated machinery was used. Together with the construction of the factory, settlements for workers were also put up. During the world war this factory produced armaments. Now it is being used for peaceful purposes and is making machines for blast furnaces, open hearth furnaces, rolling mills, rails and plates for railways, sheets, pipes, presses and mining machinery for the petroleum industry. Some of the excavators made there were enormous. There were 16,000 workers in the factory of whom thirty per cent were women. Most of these persons were trained in the factory and further training was given in evening classes in Institutes. There were schools, kindergartens, hospitals and a stadium attached. The cost of all these came very largely from the factory itself. There was no contribution by the workers. Houses were built for workers at the cost of the factory and low rents were charged. Some workers built their own houses on loans taken from Government. There was State insurance for workers. Payments were made by the State and the factory. There was no contribution by the workers. There were rewards for long service and special work. The normal age-limit for metallurgical workers was 50 and for others 55. There were pensions. The lowest wage for apprentices was 350 going up to 500.

10 Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). Author of *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, *Resurrection* and many other novels.

11. (1868-1936). Russian writer and revolutionary. His works include *Mother* and *Fragments from my Diary*.

12 F b fn see Vol 3 p 575

roubles monthly. The average worker earned 800 to 900 roubles. Those with higher qualifications 1500 to 3000 roubles or more. The Director received 5000 roubles plus any special reward. We were told that the Indian steel plant would be made in this factory in Sverdlovsk.

56. My basic impression of the Soviet Union was of an extraordinarily warm-hearted people. It is quite absurd for anyone to say that the welcome we got was organized. It certainly was encouraged, but it was definitely a spontaneous warm-hearted welcome, wherever we went from Russia to the Asian Republics. Sometimes it was quite overwhelming in its friendliness. Even the leaders of the Soviet Union were very friendly. There was no mistaking this friendliness and it was not put on.

57. I met all the principal leaders. Voroshilov,<sup>13</sup> the President, an old colleague of Lenin, was the oldest. He is respected and popular but he does not count much politically. The important men were Bulganin,<sup>14</sup> the Prime Minister, Khrushchev,<sup>15</sup> the Secretary of the Communist Party, Kaganovich,<sup>16</sup> Molotov, Mikoyan<sup>17</sup> and Saburov.<sup>18</sup> Malenkov<sup>19</sup> is also important, but still in a slightly lower

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15. N S. Khrushchev (1894-1971). First Secretary of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1953-64, Prime Minister, 1958-64.

16. L. Kaganovich (1893-1975) Soviet Commissar of Railways, 1935 and 1944-47, and of Oil, 1935-41; Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, 1945-57.

17. A I. Mikoyan (1895-1970). Commissar for Supplies, 1931-34, for Food and Industry, 1934-39 and for Transport, 1938-49; first Deputy Premier, 1958-64, President, 1964-65.

18 M Z. Saburov (1900-1961). Engineer; Chairman of Soviet State Planning Commission, 1949 and 1955-57 and of Council for Foreign Relations 1957-59; later manager of an industrial establishment.

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9 G M Malenkov For b fn see Vol 3 p 265

grade. Marshal Zhukov<sup>20</sup> did not meet us at the political talks, but he is obviously an outstanding person there. He has great charm and is a frank soldier. We not only had official talks on a Government level about the world situation, more especially in Europe and the Far East, but also numerous private talks which were quite informal and frank. These talks gave me more of an insight into these Soviet leaders than even the formal talks. I have no doubt whatever that they are anxious and eager for a settlement with the Western Powers and that they value India's friendship.

## V

58 After a brief interlude in Vienna and in Salzburg, where we had a conference of our Heads of Missions in Europe, we proceeded to Yugoslavia and spent a week there. As usual, we had a very great welcome. Everything in Yugoslavia was on a somewhat smaller scale not only as compared with the U.S.S.R. but even the other countries we visited. Yugoslavia was a very backward country under Austria-Hungary. It did not make much progress in between the two wars. But it certainly has gone ahead under Marshal Tito. It is a delightful country with great and charming variety. We visited not only Beograd (or Belgrade) but also Sarajevo, Mostar (a lovely little town built by the Turks), Dubrovnik, Split, Ljubljana, Zagreb and finally Brioni, thus covering four of the six Republics of Yugoslavia—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. We visited many of their new factories and institutions. We were particularly struck by the rapid advance made in ship-building in recent years. One of the interesting features of Yugoslavia is the Workers Council, which controls the particular factory. Apparently they have almost full powers. I think this requires study by us.

20. G.K. Zhukov (1896-1974). General of the Soviet army; Chief of General Staff 194 Deputy Minister for Defence 1953-55 Minister of Defence 1955 57 dropped from the Central Committee 1957

59 It was interesting to find that the separate Republics both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia had each their own separate flag and national anthem. Thus when I went to Uzbekistan in the U.S.S.R., three national anthems were played—the Indian, the U.S.S.R., and the Uzbek—and three national flags were displayed.

60. Both in the Soviet and in Yugoslavia, I was astonished to find how popular some Indian films were. The names of several films were mentioned to me. The only two I remember now are *Awara*<sup>21</sup> and *Do Bigha Zamin*.<sup>22</sup> The tunes and songs from *Awara* were often heard by us in the streets and on the radio. This indicates that we have a large market for the proper kind of films in the Soviet Union and in other East European countries.

61 I had long talks with Marshal Tito and his Ministers. These talks were even more frank and intimate than elsewhere. There was so much in common between our outlook and Marshal Tito's in regard to world affairs that we could discuss matters without any inhibition. Marshal Tito has had a very adventurous life of which twelve years were spent in prisons and many years as a guerilla leader. He knows all the prominent leaders in the Soviet Union intimately and knows their language too. He also knows the German language and people well. He is, therefore, in a peculiarly advantageous position to judge the Soviet or Central European problems. I found his talks very helpful in understanding these problems and we have promised to keep in close touch with each other.

62 Marshal Tito's wife, Madame Broz,<sup>23</sup> is a charming and beautiful woman. She is very young. She comes from a poor

21. *Awara* (The Tramp), a film in Hindi based on a story by K.A. Abbas was produced and directed by Raj Kapoor in 1951. The film was released in the Soviet Union in 1954.

22. *Do Bigha Zamin*, (Two Acres of Land), a film in Hindi depicting the condition of peasants in Bengal was produced and directed by Bimal Roy in 1953. It won awards at Cannes and Karlovy Vary film festivals.

23. Janka Broz married Marshal Tito in 1959.

peasant family which has suffered during the war of resistance. At the age of 16 she joined the guerillas and had a hard time.

63 We were sorry to leave Brioni and Yugoslavia. During our week there we had become very friendly with Marshal Tito and his colleagues. Brioni itself was a beautiful island in the Adriatic.

## VI

From Brioni we went to Rome. I went there specially to see the Pope<sup>24</sup> but, naturally, I met the leaders of the Government there also. Our talks with the President and Ministers of the Republic were not important. I liked the Pope. He impressed me as a fine man. He is about eighty years old.

65 From Rome we proceeded to London by a special aircraft sent by the British Government. Sir Anthony Eden<sup>25</sup> met me at the airport and took me to Chequers where I had talks with him separately and later joined a conference which was attended by Sir Anthony Eden, Mr. Macmillan,<sup>26</sup> the Foreign Minister, and Lord Home,<sup>27</sup> Commonwealth Minister. Also Malcolm Macdonald<sup>28</sup> who is coming to India as the U.K. High Commissioner. On our side present

24. Pius XII (Eugene Pacelli) (1876-1958). Elected Pope in 1939.

25. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 528.

26. H. Macmillan (1894-1987). Conservative Minister of Housing and Local Government, 1951-54 and of Defence, 1954-55; Foreign Secretary 1955; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1955-57; Prime Minister, 1957-63

27. Alec Douglas, 14th Earl of Home (b. 1903) Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1955-60; Foreign Secretary, 1960-63; Prime Minister, 1963-64; Foreign Secretary, 1970-74.

28. (1901-1981). Son of Ramsay Macdonald; Secretary of State of Dominion Affairs, 1935-39, and for Colonies, 1935 and 1938-40; Minister for Health, 1940-41; High Commissioner to Canada, 1941-46, to India, 1955-60 and to Kenya, 1964-65; Governor-General of Malaya, Singapore and British Borneo 1946-48 and of Kenya 1963-67. Special Representative of Britain to East and Central Africa 1966-67

were the High Commissioner, Vijayalakshmi Pandit,<sup>29</sup> V K. Krishna Menon and N.R. Pillai. These talks related chiefly to the Four-Power Conference in Geneva and to the problems of Europe and the Formosa Straits. Also, about the Indo-China States. At the invitation of the Queen I went to Windsor also. During my two days in England I spent only two hours in London. I travelled by motor or helicopter about 250 miles. The weather was perfect and the English countryside looked beautiful in its summer garb.

66 On my way back I stopped for a day in Cairo and discussed matters with Colonel Nasser, Prime Minister, and his colleagues. They were interested, of course, in my impressions of my tour. Their principal concern, however, is the position of the Arab nations. The Egyptian Government was trying hard to get Syria and Saudi Arabia to sign an agreement which would keep these countries out of military alliances with the Great Powers. The U.K. and Turkey, however, and possibly the U.S.A. also, are anxious to prevent this and to get Syria to join the Turco-Pakistan Pact. The Egyptian Government is also much concerned with developments in Sudan and the intention of the Sudanese Government to have no link with Egypt in the future.

## VII

Thus ended my tour of five weeks in which I covered nearly 25,000 miles. I have not referred in this note to the actual talks we had with the leaders of Governments we visited. The principal talks were in Moscow and in Yugoslavia. We had full records of these and perhaps at a latter stage a summary might be prepared of some of the important points discussed.

68. The broad impression of my tour was of great changes taking place in the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern Europe. Undoubtedly, a new type of society is being built up. This process has gone farthest in the U.S.S.R. Differen-

29. For b. fn. see Vol. I, p. 317

ces in income are still fairly considerable in the Soviet Union and probably range from 1 to 10. In Yugoslavia, this difference is less, probably 1 to 6. The general level in Yugoslavia is lower. Apart from some political leaders, the persons most respected appeared to be the scientists and the higher technicians. Science has been given every opportunity to develop and there were academies of science in palatial buildings in every Republic of the Soviet Union that we visited. This new society is well educated and becoming progressively more and more technical and scientific. Because of this widespread education and technical knowledge, it is not likely that a small group can dominate over them in future. The economic structure is such that there is no basic urge to exploit other countries. Of course, the desire to dominate or to exercise one's influence over others is there and is accentuated by the "cold war". This new society is not based on the profit motive. But there are certain incentives in the shape of higher income and greater amenities, apart from prestige and status. We were told quite clearly in Moscow that they were not aiming at equal incomes because this could not provide a sufficient incentive.

69 The question of trying to limit population growth arose in our talks one day in Moscow. Khrushchev was emphatic that they wanted the population in the Soviet Union to grow and there was plenty of room for them. He did not believe in such limitation. He said that, in fact, they wanted to double their population. I asked him what would happen if or when the population intensity in the Soviet Union was that of India. He laughed and said that the question could be considered when it arose.

70 It is clear that conditions we have to face in India are in many ways quite different from those in the Soviet Union. To some extent, they resemble conditions in China, i.e., a very large population. Therefore, we have to tackle our problems in our own way. But I feel that we can learn a great deal from the experiences of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. I feel also that any real progress in India in the future must depend on a foundation of heavy industry.

New Delhi

2 August, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

With my last fortnightly letter, I sent you a note on my visit to the Soviet Union and other countries.<sup>1</sup> I am sending you a second note with this letter. This note deals more with the political aspects of the international situation. I am afraid it is rather a long one, but I thought that it might be worthwhile for me to deal with the new situation that is developing in the world today. I have a feeling that we are on the threshold of a new approach to international problems and that gradually we might get out of this dark period of war. But I must make it clear that this will take time, and we must not expect any quick results.

2 There have been many indications, during the past six months, about this gradual change taking place. The latest evidence was the Four-Power Conference at Geneva. We have to proceed warily and not expect too much or too quickly. But I think we are justified in taking a much more hopeful view of the future than we have done in the past.

3 The meeting of the U.S. and Chinese Ambassadors in Geneva<sup>2</sup> is a very small beginning in the direct relations of the U.S. with China, and as such it is significant. The release of the American airman prisoners in China will improve the

1. See *ante*, pp. 195-222

2. The meeting took place from 1 August to discuss repatriation of nationals between the two countries and "certain other practical matters now at issue on both sides."

situation considerably.<sup>3</sup> The recent speech of Premier Chou En lai was definitely conciliatory.<sup>4</sup>

4 In another two months' time, the States Reorganization Commission is likely to submit its report.<sup>5</sup> This will be a very important document dealing with a question of vital concern to India. You may be surprised to learn that I have no idea of what their recommendations are likely to be. Whatever they are, they will naturally have great weight and command attention. No possible recommendation or solution of this problem can meet with universal approval and, therefore, whatever they suggest is bound to displease somebody. We can say nothing about it on merits because we do not know what it is going to be, but there are certain broad approaches to this problem which we might well bear in mind.

5 The question of redistribution of provinces in linguistic provinces has roused much excitement and even passion in certain parts of the country. Like all subjects which excite people, it is difficult to consider it calmly and objectively as it deserves. The great danger we have to face is that the country might suddenly be pushed into fierce controversies which will not only prevent a solution of this particular problem but affect our other problems also.

6 Just about this time, the draft second Five Year Plan is likely to be published.<sup>6</sup> The whole future of that Plan might well be imperilled by the controversies over redistribution of States.

7 How, then, are we to meet this situation? As far as I can see, the only statesmanlike approach would be to accept,

3. Beijing Radio announced on 30 July 1955 the release of 11 American airmen. They returned home on 12 August 1955.

4. In his speech on 30 July, Zhou said that China stood for peaceful settlement of her claim to Taiwan and hoped for an early start of negotiations with the Taiwan authorities. He also hoped that the United States would sign a pact for collective peace in Asia to replace the military blocs.

5. The report was submitted on 30 September 1955.

6. The draft outline was published on 10 February 1956.

broadly speaking, the unanimous recommendations of the Commission, whether we like them or not. Any other attitude for Government to take up would be to take sides in this controversy and thus be fiercely assailed for partiality. It may be that some of the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission appear to us to be unwise. It is better to accept that bit of unwisdom than to do something which leads to unfortunate consequences.

8 The best course, therefore, appears to me for us to accept the main recommendations of the Commission, subject to minor modifications if necessary, and thus try to put an end to these controversies and conflicts. If possible, we should try to implement those decisions before the next general elections.

9 I have consulted a number of our colleagues whose opinion I value, and all of us came to this conclusion. I am, therefore, mentioning this to you, because it is desirable to have our minds clear about our approach even before the report of the Commission comes out.

10 Living in Delhi, I see the unplanned and disorganized way in which this city is spreading. There is plenty of construction work going on, both governmental and private. But no one has in view any broad picture of the future. In Delhi we have the misfortune to have a number of overlapping authorities. We are trying to establish one overall planning authority for Delhi. Meanwhile, new buildings crop up everywhere which will come in the way of our planning. We are trying to stop this by legislation.

11. I am referring to this matter because I suppose every city in India has to face this problem. If we do not plan now, we shall have to face difficulties later. I suggest to you, therefore, that some kind of picture of your principal cities ten or twenty or more years hence should be drawn up and all constructions should fit in with this picture. There is a tendency now to put up multi-storeyed buildings. There is no harm in that and indeed there is no escape from it. But multi-storeyed buildings should have a broad road in front to allow for the additional traffic that is bound to come.

Many of the old cities in Europe have relatively narrow streets and the traffic problem has become almost beyond solution.

12. Then there is the question of proper drainage and parks. I find in Delhi that even our much prized open spaces are gradually being encroached upon by buildings, sometimes Government structures. I am much concerned about this and hence my wish to draw your attention to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

*Enclosure\**

## I

In my first note<sup>1</sup> on my visit to the Soviet Union and other countries, I barely touched on the political issues, although I gave some background impressions. I should like to deal with some of these political and international aspects in this second note.

2 My talks with the Soviet leaders and Marshal Tito helped me to get a clearer idea of the present world situation. This was not essentially different from what I had previously. But certain new developments were emphasized by them. Even more so, what I saw and felt gave me a greater understanding. I have always felt that it is not merely the obvious facts and the statements of politicians, so copiously reported in the Press, that have to be considered in arriving at an understanding of events. Often one has to look a little below the surface as well as in some perspective in order to gain a truer perception. I had opportunities during this recent tour of mine to gather these impressions which progressively affected my understanding of the present-day situation.

3 To some extent, subsequent events have confirmed my appreciation of the situation. When I went to London after my Soviet and Yugoslav tour, I gave a brief account of my assessment of the situation to Sir Anthony Eden and his colleagues. They were not quite sure if this appraisal was a correct one. But of course they were polite enough not to contradict me. It is interesting to note therefore what their impressions were after the Four-Power Conference held at Geneva. Mr. Macmillan met all the High Commissioners in London on the 27th July. We have received a report of what he said then:

\*Second Note on visit to the Soviet Union and other countries in June-July 1955 New Delhi 2 August 1955

1 See ante item 27

He began by saying that his Government were under a debt of deep gratitude to the Indian Prime Minister whose assessment of the Russian situation had been their guide throughout the talks and proved correct every time. He said he had taken notes of the conversation at Chequers and was amazed to find how closely the Russian approach followed the line indicated by the Prime Minister. It was of immense importance to have had this guidance of which both he and Eden were deeply appreciative.

He described talks with Russians as cordial and sincere on both sides and said the greatest thing that emerged from the Conference was the undeniable fact that neither side sought war as a solution of problems. He mentioned being struck with the obvious desire of Russians to be liked, which was also a typical American trait. This desire, he said, was very evident in all their dealings with the West in Geneva.

4. While I was travelling across the Soviet Union or Southern and Western Europe, and when I was visiting any place, meeting prominent men or looking at vast crowds, I was less interested in odd facts and statistics (indeed I had no time to get them) than in the impressions I got. I made myself receptive to those impressions. More and more I saw this great panorama in its continental aspect as well as in the perspective of history. I noticed that behind all the revolutionary changes that had taken place both in the Soviet Union as well as in Western Europe during the last half century, there was still the basic pride and love of country in each nation. The Russians may be Communists, but they were more Russian than Communists. The Poles were intensely nationalistic, as they always have been. The Yugoslavs were equally attached not only to their country but to each separate Republic of their country. There was the pride of the Croatian in Croatia, of the Serb in Serbia, of the Slovenes in Slovenia and so on. In the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union as well as in the Ukraine and Georgia, there was also this local pride and patriotism. There was no obvious conflict in this local patriotism with the larger

feeling of the national group, or if there was this conflict, we did not see it. On the whole there appeared both in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia a successful compromise between the two.

5 I saw people everywhere, in various stages of development, but nearly all of them far more developed than India, working hard, building and constructing their country and anxious above all for peace. There was a common apprehension and fear of war and a desire to work out their destiny in peace. I often wondered why there is war at all when there is such a passionate wish to avoid it.

6 The Soviet Revolution of 1917 and all the ups and downs that had followed it, passed before my eyes Undoubtedly, this was a tremendous human upheaval. The question of liking it or disliking it hardly arises in trying to understand it. Indeed, any extreme like or dislike colours our vision. It was an elemental phenomenon brought about by a conjunction of unique events and, like a storm or an earthquake, it had to be viewed objectively. Such an upheaval brought numerous consequences in its train, which again were largely governed and conditioned by the past history of Russia. It is this past of Russia and the conditions that prevailed under the Czars that are important in our understanding of the Revolution as well as of what followed it. We often make the mistake of judging another country in terms of our own country or of our own experiences. It was this basic idea of mine that I stressed wherever I went, that every country is conditioned by its own historical, geographical and cultural background. It has to grow in that soil. It is true that, in the modern world, there are innumerable factors which bring us together and produce somewhat uniform conditions as well as ideas. It is true I suppose that we are inevitably going towards the idea of "One World". Nevertheless, there are vast differences in the backgrounds of different peoples, vaster even than in their economic conditions.

7 And so I traced in my mind the history of the last thirty eight years in the Soviet Union In the course of our

conversations with the Soviet leaders, they had pointed out that, since the Revolution thirty-eight years ago, they had spent twenty years in either war or civil war or in trying to repair the terrific damage of the wars. The present generation had grown up under the shadow of war or the fear of war and had never any chance of developing what might be called a normal life. And yet, there was the natural desire to become normal. Only fear prevented them from doing so, in spite of their great strength.

8 I was convinced in the Soviet Union of the great change in outlook both of the Government and the people there. They were very different from one's normal conception of people wedded to the doctrine of international communism and permanent revolution till the entire world became Communist. I had realized this to some extent even before I went to the Soviet Union. My visit confirmed this impression. Whatever Marx's original theory might have been, and this theory had undergone considerable modifications even in the Soviet regime, it had become only a vague theory with little practical application in so far as world revolution was concerned. I found that Communists in the Soviet Union were a different brand from Communists in non-Communist countries. In the Soviet Union, they were the Government facing daily national and international problems. They were in touch with reality and responsibility. In non-Communist countries, Communists inevitably were of purely agitational variety with fixed and inflexible grooves of thought based on a theory which had ceased to have much application in the Soviet Union. The authorities in the Soviet Union had in the past encouraged them but this was far more because of political reasons and not because of the old Communist approach. They wanted to utilize Communist Parties elsewhere for their political purposes where this was considered necessary. Where this came in conflict with their national policy, they cared little for the Communist group in another country, even though they might have some vague sympathy for it.

9 The change in the Soviet Union must have been a

gradual growth, and I think that essentially it came from the people and not from the top, though the top was also affected by this change. But so long as Stalin dominated the scene, this change was held in check, though it worked nevertheless below the surface. When Stalin disappeared from the scene<sup>2</sup> it had more scope and, after the first few months, it became progressively evident to all. This change indeed would have been very rapid but for the "cold war" and the constant fear of world war. The major reason for fear for the Russian Government and people was, apart from atomic and hydrogen bombs, the proposal to rearm Germany. One solid fact that stood out not only in Russia but in Eastern and Southern Europe as well as in France, was the fear of a strong and armed Germany.

10 Malenkov was made Prime Minister, together with Beria and Molotov, as they were in a sense close associates of Stalin, and a sudden shift-over after Stalin's death might have created serious conflicts.<sup>3</sup> Outwardly, therefore, there was no break with the Stalin regime, but the process of change had begun. With the removal of Beria, there was the first major break. Beria was the embodiment of the worst features of the Stalinist regime, and there is no doubt that there was no love lost between him and the present leaders of Russia. He was tolerated only as long as they were not strong enough to remove him. If they had hit earlier, there was the risk of Beria removing them.

11 Malenkov adopted a friendly approach to the Western Powers. But there was no response, and his stock fell a little, though not completely. The hardness of the Western attitude in spite of these overtures made the Soviet Government pull back a little and to lay greater emphasis again on heavy industry because of the fear of war. But there was no

2 See Vol 3 p 265

3 *Ib d*

basic change in policy and even Malenkov's removal<sup>4</sup> did not indicate any such change in the Soviet international policy.

12 As soon as the new Government settled down, they took a number of steps which surprised the Western countries and threw them off balance. There was the Soviet proposal for disarmament<sup>5</sup> which was remarkably like the proposals put forward by the Western nations previously. There was the settlement in Austria,<sup>6</sup> the agreement with Yugoslavia,<sup>7</sup> the talks with Japan,<sup>8</sup> the treaty with Iran,<sup>9</sup> and lastly and most surprisingly, the invitation to Chancellor Adenauer to visit Moscow.<sup>10</sup>

13 All these were definite moves towards ending the cold war. The initiative in each case was that of the Soviet Union. Reactions in Western countries varied. Many welcomed this but most were suspicious. Some people in the United States even went so far so to say that the Soviet Union was internally weak and about to collapse, hence these attempts to lessen tensions, etc. This was a manifestly wrong

4. N Bulganin was elected Premier by the Supreme Soviet on 3 February 1955 following Malenkov's resignation.

5. See *ante*, p 173.

6. See *ante*, p 173.

7. The agreement for normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was signed on 2 June 1955, and those on trade, economic and technical co-operation, air travel, and atomic energy development between 23 August and 1 September 1955.

8. On the eve of the talks for a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union in London on 1 June, the Soviet Union stated that it would renounce repatriation of war prisoners and support Japan's membership to the United Nations. It hoped that Japan would also relinquish its rights to Kurile and other islands, and sign an non-aggression pact and agreement on trade and fishing.

9. By an agreement signed on 2 December 1954, the Soviet Union agreed to pay war debt to Iran and "both countries agreed to map the common frontier."

10. Adenauer was invited on 7 June and visited Moscow from 9 to 11 September 1955 to discuss the possibility of establishing diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union.

conclusion; the war apparatus of the Soviet Union had never been so strong. Everyone who knew admitted that their scientific advance in regard to atomic weapons and hydrogen bomb had been remarkable. No one knew exactly what it was but there was general agreement that the difference between the Soviet and the U.S.A. in this respect was not great. Further, that the scientific advance of the Soviet Union was rapid and they had some of the best brains in the world. The agricultural situation, undoubtedly, had worried the Soviet Government because of bad harvests and other reasons, but this was nothing very serious. There was little doubt that the Soviet Government and structure was as stable as any in the world.

14 What then was this due to? I think it is fundamentally due not to any particular individual, although individuals count, but to the inevitable causes which come into operation after a great revolution and the desire to settle down and live normal lives. It was basically due to the new generation that had grown up in the Soviet Union which had no personal experience of the revolution and did not possess the rigidity of the old guard. This new generation was essentially of the engineer technical type interested in building and construction, as well as, of course, in the good things of life. There was a desire for a lessening of tension in their individual lives and in not having to live continuously at a high pitch of effort. Probably there was a wish also to have a larger measure of individual freedom. It must be remembered that the people of Russia never had in Czarist days, or subsequently, the type of individual freedom and civil liberties which western Europe and other countries gradually developed in the course of long struggle against kings and nobles. The Soviet Union was a tremendous war machine, but even this war machine is not, I imagine, a purely war machine like the old German one. It is often engaged in civil works and construction and the line separating the military from the civil is not too marked. In a

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15. I mentioned in my previous note how keen people in Russia are to read and to read serious and classical books. This reading habit is widespread. Reading, even though the literature available is somewhat limited in scope, makes people think. No autocracy or authoritarian form of government can subsist for long if the people are well educated and read a great deal. So, in spite of the great effect of the propaganda machine, people's minds begin to function in different directions. The only real limiting factor continued to be fear of war. In this the atomic and hydrogen bomb played their due part.

16. I have traced this development in some detail because I feel that it is basic and not superficial, provided no war comes. They have now entered at long last a phase of settling down after the tremendous tensions of war and cold war. There has been, I believe, a turn in the tide. This suddenly became evident at the Four-Power Conference. That Conference decided nothing and merely gave some directions to the Foreign Ministers to discuss various subjects.<sup>11</sup> And yet, the Four-Power Conference did a tremendous deal in lessening world tension and removing the spectre of war. Oddly enough, the two persons who stood out at this Four-Power Conference were President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Bulganin.

17. The Four-Power Conference did not touch, at least formally, the Far East situation. There were of course private talks about it. This situation still remains the most dangerous one in the world. And yet, I have no doubt that even in the Far East the distant effects of the Four-Power Conference had been felt and there is less fear of a conflict. The meeting of the American and Chinese Ambassadors, which is to begin at Geneva on August 1st, is not important in itself and the terms of reference are most inadequate. But viewed in the

11. On 23 July, the four Heads of Governments instructed their Foreign Ministers to meet in Geneva in October 1955 to "propose effective means" to achieve European security and German unification disarmament and good relations between East and West.

larger context, it assumes significance. Even if the real problems in the Formosa Straits are not discussed, and they are not likely to be discussed in Geneva at this stage, this Conference may well lead to some steps forward. We have just had the good news from China that the American airmen there are being released. India has been working for this for many months and her efforts have at last met with success. These releases do not touch the main issue, but they help in lessening tensions and in creating an atmosphere for negotiations. In the Formosa Straits, it is essential that, as a first step, the coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu should be evacuated.

18 Broadly speaking, the two major problems in so far as the world situation is concerned, are those of Germany in Europe and the complex of Far Eastern problems—Korea, Formosa and Indo-China. Because of various developments in Europe, more especially in Germany, the Western bloc is in a relatively stronger position compared to the Soviet bloc. In the Far East, however, this position is reversed and China and her allies are in a relatively stronger position both politically and militarily, chiefly because of geography. Because of this, the United States is anxious to give priority to the German problem and to leave the Far Eastern problem untouched, hoping for something to happen in the course of the next few years. It is hardly conceivable, however, that the position in the Far East can be left as it is for any length of time. It is possible, however, that if the coastal islands, Quemoy and Matsu, are handed over to China peacefully, then the situation in the Far East will tone down and cease to be one of acute tension. The problem will remain, but it can be dealt with at some leisure. It is quite possible that the Formosan problem will tend to solve itself by Chiang Kai-shek and his group gradually fading out. The ultimate solution can only be for Formosa or Taiwan to go to China. No Chinese Government can tolerate a hostile power in Formosa and both history and cultural contacts support the Chinese claim. The great majority of the Formosans are Chi-speaking people from the Fukien Province of

China. Very probably, the Formosans would like some kind of self-government and it is conceivable that when they become part of the Chinese State, a measure of autonomy might be granted to them.

19. The only practical course at present in regard to Formosa, therefore, is that the coastal islands should be evacuated by the Chiang Kai-shek forces and peacefully transferred to the People's Government of China. This is the course advocated by the U.K. Government and some other Governments, and it is in this direction that India's efforts have been directed in our informal talks in Peking, London, Ottawa and Washington. Washington has resisted this because of its alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. But even that alliance is not really affected by Quemoy and Matsu being handed over. The real result of this handing over would be a loss in Chiang Kai-shek's prestige and morale. If world tensions continue to decrease, one may look forward to this process of transfer of Quemoy and Matsu to China, though one should not underestimate the difficulties ahead as there are powerful Chiang Kai-shek lobbies in America.

20. A very important aspect of the Far Eastern problem is the inclusion of the People's Government of China in the United Nations as well as in the Security Council. The United States have all along taken a very strong attitude opposing this, but world opinion has veered round considerably in this matter. At the tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco in June last,<sup>12</sup> there were many favourable references to the inclusion of China even from those who had opposed it in the past.<sup>13</sup> One may expect, therefore, some step forward in this direction, possibly at the next meeting of the United Nations in September/October. The real difficulty now in the mind of U.S. leaders is not the positive aspect of the inclusion of the

12. The signing of the U.N. Charter in 1945 was commemorated by holding a special session from 20 to 26 June 1955.

13. For example, Harold Macmillan made a plea for inclusion of China if U.N. is to fulfil its true destiny.

People's Government of China, but rather the exclusion of Chiang Kai-shek. Informally, suggestions have been made by the United States that China should be taken into the United Nations but not in the Security Council, and that India should take her place in the Security Council. We cannot of course accept this as it means falling out with China and it would be very unfair for a great country like China not to be in the Security Council. We have, therefore, made it clear to those who suggested this that we cannot agree to this suggestion. We have even gone a little further and said that India is not anxious to enter the Security Council at this stage, even though as a great country she ought to be there. The first step to be taken is for China to take her rightful place and then the question of India might be considered separately.

21. At this tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco, there was another interesting development. Mr. Spaak<sup>14</sup> of Belgium, who has been a leading exponent of the United States policy in Europe and has a great reputation among European statesmen, urged that, in view of the change in the U.S.S.R., the necessity of co-existence with communism must be recognized.

22. The German question appears to be completely intractable at present, and there is no meeting ground between the two great power blocs. Neither side wants to break this deadlock till some of their preliminary aims are achieved. The Western bloc, and more especially the United States, are anxious to rearm Germany both as a measure of protection against any possible Soviet attack and in order to influence world problems through Europe and the German armed forces. In other words, they want to weaken the position of their opponents through Germany and thereby influence even the situation in Asia. On the Soviet side, as I have stated

14. Paul-Henri Spaak (1899-1972). Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1936-50, 1954-57, 1961-66; Premier, 1938-39, 1946, and 1947-50; first President, U.N. General Assembly 1946 Secretary - - - NATO 1957-61 advocate of European unity

above, the fear of an armed Germany is great. If Western Germany is to be armed, then they will not give up East Germany and may possibly arm it also. This means the continued division of Germany into two parts. It is admitted on all hands that there can be little peace in Europe with this division continuing.

23. This is the crux of the problem and, in spite of soft words, neither side is prepared to give up its basic position. It is recognized, however, now in the Western countries that the Soviet fear of an armed Germany has justification and, therefore, some measures of security for the Soviet should also be devised. Sir Anthony Eden made some proposals to this effect in the Four-Power Conference,<sup>15</sup> but they did not go far enough and were not accepted. The Soviet conception of a neutral united Germany was not acceptable to the West and, for all practical purposes, cannot be considered feasible now. Indeed, it is unrealistic to think of Germany as a passive neutral country. Sweden or Switzerland or Austria may well be neutral, but a vital and powerful country like Germany cannot be passive. Marshal Tito told me, and there is much evidence to this effect, that there are still aggressive tendencies in sections of the German people. He said that Germans had not yet learnt much from their past experiences and fascism and Nazism had not been uprooted. Among many Germans, there was still the idea of "Deutschland über alles". It is true, however, that there are powerful peace forces in Germany also. The Soviet idea practically amounts to two armed blocs and a disarmed Germany. This is wholly unacceptable to the West, as it means weakening the Western armed bloc.

24. It would appear, therefore, that there is no present solution of the German problem except in some much wider

15. Eden suggested: (1) unification of Germany and a security pact between all Four Powers against aggression from any Power "whoever it be," (2) reciprocal control of and supervision over the arms and forces on either side of Germany, (3) all representatives to be partners in a United Germany and (4) a possibility of a demilitarized area between East and West.

context. Chancellor Adenauer's reply to the Soviet invitation was a very aggressive one and he laid down conditions which were obviously unacceptable to the Soviet.<sup>16</sup> Probably these conditions were not final and some way out will be found for Adenauer to go to Moscow later. Adenauer's reply was sent after full consultation with the U.S. and, as Adenauer himself has said, under the impression that the Soviet was becoming weak. The question of Germany thus becomes tied up with the bigger question of evolving a system of security in Europe which will give assurance against Soviet aggression and also assurance against German aggression. In effect, even a system of European security is not enough. It has to be on a basis of world security and that again has to be based on a considerable measure of disarmament. Thus, the German problem and the question of security and disarmament are all tied up together. There can be no security without settling the German problem and no settling the German problem without adequate security.

25. President Eisenhower has often referred to the liberation of the East European countries which are under Soviet domination or influence and Chancellor Adenauer in his reply to the Soviet made it quite clear that he would not recognize East Germany. I cannot give any firm opinion about conditions in these East European States, that is, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia and Lithuania. I visited Poland and Czechoslovakia and I have already indicated in my previous note that Czechoslovakia seemed to me a very unhappy country while Poland produced a different impression upon me. I have no knowledge of the other Eastern countries. Broadly speaking, one may say that Poland, though somewhat dependent upon the Soviet Union, is much more independent and nationalistic than Czechoslovakia. It is too big a country to

16. In his reply on 30 June, Adenauer insisted on prior agreement on  
of subjects like the release of the n prisoners of war  
before his g to go to M w for ta ks

be easily dominated over. But whether these countries are strong or weak, it seems exceedingly unlikely that any change will come to them by external pressure, apart from war and its results. In fact, the whole idea of "liberating" them, as expressed in America, really makes it more difficult for any changes to come there peacefully. The Soviet Union will resist to the utmost any pressure tactics in regard to these States because if they go outside its influence, this will endanger the Soviet Union's security. It is possible however, and indeed probable, that if there is a marked improvement in world tensions and the cold war ceases, then internal developments and changes will take place in these East European States. The Soviet may well withdraw its armies where they exist and its political domination will also become less, though its influence will remain.

26. We have to consider these States from two points of view—that of political influence and secondly of the social structure there. While the political influence of the Soviet Union is likely to lessen progressively, if all goes well, and each of these countries becomes more self-conscious and self-reliant, the question of changing the economic and social structure there and reverting to the capitalist system will be fiercely resisted. Gradually, changes even in the economic structure may take place within the larger ambit of the socialist system. Even now some changes have taken place because of pressure of circumstances and there has been a slight retreat from Communist doctrine, more especially in regard to land. In Czechoslovakia I was told that it was their fixed policy not to compel peasants to collectivize and that there were a very large number of individual farmers there. I was told by the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia that out of 7.2 million hectares under cultivation, only 475,000 hectares were under State farms and the rest were owned by individual farmers. The limit for a holding prescribed by law was 50 hectares. Czechoslovakia had a marked deficit in agriculture. This is partly due to the fact that the land vacated by the Sudeten Germans is still lying uncultivated. In Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere in the

Communist countries, there was a much greater emphasis on heavy industry, chiefly because of defence requirements. We were told that there had been a 12 per cent increase per year in the national income during the past five years. Fifteen per cent of the national income, we were informed, was used for fresh investments. The entire wholesale trade was in the hands of Government. Retail trade was carried on either through Government shops or community-owned shops. Prime Minister Siroky of Czechoslovakia admitted that present conditions left much to be desired and that maintenance of peace was essential to enable the standard of living to be raised.

27 Thus, if war is to be avoided, as it must be, and the "cold war" to end, certain steps become necessary: (1) In the Far East, Quemoy and Matsu should go to China, (2) In Europe, no attempt should be made by external pressure to change the present alliances of the Eastern European States, (3) The question of the unification of Germany should be considered in the context of European and world security, and (4) There should be progressive and considerable disarmament. One cannot expect all this to happen suddenly or in the near future. But it may well take place step by step. Meanwhile, it is necessary to put an end to all kinds of iron curtains and trade embargoes and encourage freer intercourse between these countries which have been opposed to each other. This will lead to a return to normality, less excitement and tension, and a greater understanding of the other's viewpoint and fears. These processes may be said to have begun in a small way already. They have a long way to go, but this turn in the tide of human events is significant and holds out, for the first time in many years, a prospect of some hope.

28 If normal relations are restored between these opposing countries, each will somewhat influence the other. In the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, there will probably be a lessening of restrictions on individual freedom and a greater measure of political democracy will probably creep in without any marked change in the

Constitution itself. The economic structure will undoubtedly remain, but it will function in a somewhat different atmosphere. More emphasis will be laid on the production of consumer goods and the raising of the standard of living. In view of the great development of heavy industries in the Soviet Union, this shift-over may well lead to a very rapid extension of light industries and the production of consumer goods. The industrial base is there, and only the direction of the productive apparatus has to be changed.

29. As compared with the other Communist countries, the Soviet Union is not only the oldest but the most firmly established and is developing a certain maturity about its political and economic structure which comes with age. It possesses strength also, and, therefore, there is going to be an increasing tendency there for settling down and not having adventures. China, on the other hand, though basically more peaceful than European countries has not yet come out of its revolutionary phase. It is, therefore, often a little more rigid in its international dealings.

30. What is going to be the future of what is called international communism? If there is this progressive approach to normality in international relationship, there can be no doubt that communism will cease to function as the agent and political ally of the Communist countries in non-Communist countries. It will tend to become a local movement or party in other countries with greater or less strength, according to the political and economic conditions of that country. The central direction of an organization like the Comintern<sup>17</sup> or Cominform<sup>18</sup> will fade away. I imagine that the Cominform itself will soon cease to function though of course that does not necessarily mean that other methods might not be adopted to exercise that type of influence. But I

17. The Comintern, the international Communist organization founded by Lenin in 1919, was dissolved in 1943.

18. The Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) was founded in 1947 in Moscow to continue the work done previously in Europe by Comintern disbanded in 1956.

feel certain that the stress in future is going to be on peaceful co-existence and non-interference. Communist countries, like the Soviet Union especially and to some extent China, will endeavour to prove by their internal development that their system is superior to the capitalist or any like system elsewhere. They will not seek to impose themselves either politically or economically upon others. It is difficult to prophesy about the future because great countries tend to be expansive in various ways. This applies today both to the Soviet Union and to the United States of America, though in different ways. But scientific and technological developments, leading to the hydrogen bomb, have brought about a basic change in people's thinking and this may even affect the expansiveness of the great and powerful countries and turn their thinking to other ways of world development which are easily possible today because of this very technological advance.

31 In this developing world situation circumstances, aided by our own policy, have thrust upon India a special position. To some extent, Burma also occupies that special position. There can be no doubt that these two countries have, by their independent policies and their attempt to be friendly with all nations, helped somewhat in easing tensions and in bringing opponents nearer to each other. The changes that are coming over the Soviet Union are making the people, and even the Government there, a little more receptive to outside influences, provided always that these are friendly. India can thus play a worthwhile part in the future also if she adheres to her present policy and, at the same time, does not try to push herself anywhere. Apart from being rather unbecoming, this attempt to push creates a bad impression among others. Therefore, we have to function quietly and modestly and not seek to be acclaimed for what we do. If we act rightly, the appreciation of others will naturally come to us.

32 Yugoslavia in Europe has gradually come round to a policy very similar to ours. But its position has been and is a very different one. It was in grave danger during the past few

years from the Soviet blockade. It looked towards the Western Powers, and especially the United States, for help. It got all this assistance in abundant measure both for military and civil purposes. Recent developments, however, and the reconciliation of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union has not been looked upon with favour by the United States of America. There has been much pressure on Yugoslavia from both sides for her to give up her neutral position. On the Western side there has been an increasing pressure for Yugoslavia to join the Atlantic Pact and strengthen the Balkan Alliance<sup>19</sup> in its military aspect. The Prime Minister<sup>20</sup> of Turkey visited Yugoslavia<sup>21</sup> with this purpose in view and there was a sharp conflict of opinion between the two. Yugoslavia refused to be dragged into the military set up of the West or in the Balkans, although she has close economic and cultural relations in the Balkans and wants to continue them. The Soviet, on the other hand, have been bringing pressure on Yugoslavia to get her back into their fold and to line up, as is said, with "the camp of peace and socialism".

33. But Yugoslavia has consistently resisted these pressures from both sides and clung to her independent policy and is not lining up in a military sense with the Western or the Soviet bloc. She feels, I think quite rightly, that she can help the cause of peace and reconciliation in this way. Nevertheless, the pressures continue. Some forms of aid were stopped by the United States, including some armaments which were greatly needed by Yugoslavia, in order to exercise this pressure. This was even before the visit of the Soviet Prime Minister to Yugoslavia. When, however, it was known that this high-level Soviet group was going to Yugoslavia, the

19. The Balkan Pact was signed on 9 August 1954 between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia for ensuring peace, security and development of the region.

20. Adnam Menderes (1899-1961). Turkish Premier from 1956 till removed by an army coup in 1960; executed a year later on the charge of violating the country's Constitution.

<sup>21</sup> From 4 to 9 May 1955

aid from the United States started again. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is in a very delicate and difficult position and it is highly likely that military aid from Western countries will stop and civil aid might be reduced. This will naturally affect the economy of Yugoslavia, but Marshal Tito was quite clear that he would not accept any aid at the cost of giving up his independent policy.

34. Marshal Tito was naturally interested in the Arab and Middle Eastern position and disapproved of the military pacts between Turkey and Iraq which later Pakistan joined.<sup>22</sup> Yugoslavia's influence had some effect in preventing Syria from joining this pact. It is likely that soon Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia will come to an agreement not to join any other bloc without consulting each other. This will be a defeat for Western, and chiefly British diplomacy who have been pressing Egypt and Syria to join their military set up in the Middle East.

35 In the course of my stay in Moscow, I had an interesting talk with Saburov, the Chairman of the Gosplan<sup>23</sup> as well as some of his leading planners. A two-hour talk was not enough and barely covered the questions I had in mind. In the main, I wanted to understand what the Soviet planners were doing. Saburov explained to me that the Soviet Government had split up their Planning Commission and made it into two Commissions, one dealing with current planning and the other with long-term planning. He said that experience had shown that those engaged in current planning could not adequately cope with the problems of long-term planning. Therefore, it had been decided to relieve the long-term planners from current work. The new Chairman of the long-term Planning Commission was

22 On 1 July 1955, Pakistan joined the Turko-Iraqi mutual cooperation treaty signed on 25 February 1955. This was part of the Middle East defence plan to which Britain and USA were also involved.

23 Gosp plan stands for Soviet State Planning Commission

Baibakov<sup>24</sup> and of the current plan, Saburov. The two Commissions worked together and complemented each other.

36. In the long-term plan, they were thinking of not only a five year plan but ten and even fifteen years ahead. They tried to find out how other advanced countries were progressing, what the speed of their development was and where they would be, say fifteen years hence. They were anxious not only to overtake them but to surpass them. From these comparisons, they drew their own conclusions as to what they should or should not do in their own long-term planning. Saburov said that the U.S.S.R. had all the necessary requisites, such as resources and people. All that it wanted was peace and non-interference to fulfil the task they had set for themselves.

37. Five Year Plans were prepared on an approximate basis by the long-term Planning Commission which also dealt with the development of particular industries which had to be planned on a long term basis. Thus, the development of power was planning on a ten to fifteen year basis. Such a plan over a long period could not be very precise or detailed. But it helped in working out the five year plans. The long-term Planning Commission also dealt with the development of production not only in different branches of industry but also on a territorial basis for the different Republics. In these different Republics, the five year or one year plans were drawn up on the basis of the common tasks decided upon at the All-Union level. These drafts were discussed and finalized later at the All-Union level. The plan gave figures not only of the country as a whole but also for each individual Republic. The sum of capital investment was allocated among the various Republics and their Ministries. Actual details were worked out by the Republics themselves. Generally speaking, such matters as electrical energy, coal,

24. N.K. Baibakov (b. 1911). Oil mining engineer, Soviet Commissar for Oil 1940-46 Minister 1948-55 Chairman State Planning Committee 1955-58 1983-85 Vice Chairman Council of Ministers 1965-85

oil, cotton and steel, were dealt with by the Union Government, while local industry and questions relating to management, etc., were dealt with at the Republican level. Help was given to the Republics from the Centre.

38 The current Planning Commission prepared the annual plan of the national economy. This was a detailed plan based on the broad five year plan. Both the five year and the annual plans were fully discussed before being finally approved but once a decision had been taken, then the plan became a directive and a law which had to be acted upon. Normally, the annual plan was a fixed plan and not subject to change. But, if in the course of implementing it, any new conditions had to be considered, adjustments were made.

39 Saburov said that the plans were often over-fulfilled. I enquired from him if over-fulfilment in one sector did not lead to an upsetting of the plan in other sectors. Saburov admitted that this was so. However carefully the plans were prepared, they could not be absolutely precise. If there was over-fulfilment, this would lead to the demand for extra fuel or raw material or energy and emergency measures would have to be adopted to meet these new demands in order to balance the economy.

40 I discussed with him the balance between heavy industry and light industry and agriculture, keeping in view the increasing population. He said that these developments were not contradictory to each other. They had however relied chiefly on heavy industry, because this was the base from which other industries could grow. Also that heavy industry could be controlled whereas agriculture so much depended upon climate and no one could be sure. The development of heavy industry resulted in the shortage of hands in the rural areas and this could only be met by mechanization of agriculture, which in turn could only be done by development of heavy industry. I was told that the agricultural population of the Soviet Union was roughly fifty per cent of the total population at the time. The other fifty per cent were engaged in all branches of industry. Of this latter fifty per cent 10% were engaged in machine tractor

stations and in State farms. Thus the total number of people engaged in agriculture exceeded half the population. Industry, including transport and construction, engaged somewhat less than one-third of the total population. I enquired if the workers did not have more purchasing power than they could use. Saburov said that this was so at times due to shortage of production in some industry or other. This purchasing power went into the savings accounts or was diverted to other channels. The Soviet Government did not allow inflation and if necessary the shortage of goods was met by imports.

41. I enquired about decentralization. Saburov said that a few months earlier a decision had been taken to give wider powers to the Ministries and greater initiative to the heads of various plants, collective farms, etc. The broad targets were laid down and the details were left to be worked out by the Ministry or the head of the plant or collective farm.

42. I enquired about the position of the Communist Party in relation to planning and its implementation. Saburov said that according to their Constitution the Party was the leader of the people and had worked out the basic ideas and principles. The recommendations of the Party were discussed by public bodies and the Government considered them in drafting its plans. The Party was even more useful in the implementation of the plans at all stages. Its chief business was to give an overall guidance without going into details.

43. I mentioned to Saburov the Yugoslav system of Workers' Councils.<sup>25</sup> Saburov replied that they had tried this in the Soviet Union at one time, but now it was past history. Their experience had shown that there must be a clear-cut division of functions and responsibility. This was necessary for effective direction.

44. Saburov said in answer to a question of mine that the question of defence had played an important part in

25. Workers' Councils started in 1949 in Yugoslavia comprising representatives elected by the workers were made responsible for running the industrial enterprises and to look after day-to-day management.

planning. If there had not been a continuous threat of invasion from outside, then far greater resources would have been directed towards the raising of the standard of living of the people. Between 1914 and 1955, twenty years had been wasted either in war or in the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy. It took five years to repair the damages caused by the last war. The Soviet Union did not want this to happen again and wanted to devote itself to peaceful progress.

45. Saburov concluded by saying that as the planning in India was proceeding on a different basis, it was quite possible that a situation might arise in which the Soviet Union might be able to learn a great deal from India.

New Delhi  
1 August, 1955

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
11 August, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I wish to bring to your notice again the very difficult situation that has arisen in regard to the refugee influx from East Pakistan to West Bengal. This influx is continuing and has shown little signs of abating. The situation in Pakistan has been in a state of flux. A new Government<sup>1</sup> has been formed there. We shall, of course, try to do our best to stop or limit this movement.

But, apart from what the future might hold, the present itself is very difficult. You will remember that, at a meeting of the National Development Council held some months ago, this matter was particularly referred to. It is a question of national importance and it is not possible to solve it unless all our States offer their help and co-operation. I am glad that some States have offered land for this purpose. So far as I know, Bihar, Orissa and Hyderabad have done so. This is not enough, and I seek your assistance. We cannot allow a hard-pressed State of West Bengal to carry this

\*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 On 7 August 1955, Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali became the Prime Minister after Mahomed Ali Bogra had resigned following his failure to form a coalition Government. Earlier on 5 August, Iskandar Mirza took over as Acting Governor General after Chum Mohammed proceeded on two month's leave.

11 August 1955

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remendous burden by itself. I earnestly hope that you will give this matter your consideration. I realize very well the difficulties of many of our States, but the difficulty of Bengal is a far greater one.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
26 August, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I have delayed writing to you this letter, although much has happened since I wrote to you last. Our Independence Day, August 15th, began as a day of rejoicing and ended with tragedy.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, in Bombay, Calcutta and to some extent in Delhi,<sup>2</sup> occurrences took place which must have filled you, as they did me, with concern. Goa has become a test for all of us in many ways. But even more important than Goa is how we behave. If we go to pieces, then everything else loses its significance and importance.

2. My tour in the Soviet Union and other countries of Europe and the welcome that I got there was naturally appreciated in India. Apart from the personal factor, there was a realization that there was something deeper behind these welcomes and demonstrations. It was a desire for peace, a return to some normality and security, and a feeling that India had served this cause of peace. It would be absurd to say that it was principally due to India that this gradual change came about over the world. But this would be true that India's consistent policy had helped. That policy was

1. Thirty-one persons were killed and forty-four wounded in a police firing on demonstrators from India who had entered Goa on 15 August to demonstrate and extend support to Goan nationalists. The same day, two persons were killed and 25 injured in Ranchi and Nawadah as a result of police firing on students who were protesting against inadequate bus service in Bihar.

2. Demonstrations took place on 16 August in Bombay and Delhi leading to violence and a hartal was observed in Calcutta on 8 August in protest against firing on Indian sailors in Goa.

justified by events and hence the appreciation of this policy in quarters that had thus far looked at it with dislike.

3 During the post-War years, we have had to deal with two sets of circumstances: One is the outstanding and dominant position of two great countries, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and their hostility and fear of each other. Round these countries gathered others and so two major groups opposed to and afraid of each other dominated international affairs with their fears and rivalries. The second factor was a kind of epidemic of revolutionary movements in various parts of the world, notably in Asia and Africa. These revolutionary movements were the result of internal and sometimes long-distance causes, as well as the upset caused by the Second World War. This war put an end to the old balance of power in the world or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that the nineteenth century balance had been upset by the First World War and ever since then no real equilibrium had been established. The period between the world wars was a troubled period. There was plenty of petty wars and major upheavals in China and Spain. There was Mussolini<sup>3</sup> and later Hitler.<sup>4</sup> Unable to find an equilibrium, events marched to the dreadful climax of the Second World War.

4 This second great war brought about even greater upsets than the first had done and, ever since then, the world has vainly sought some kind of a balance or equilibrium. Meanwhile, powerful movements, national or with a social purpose, have affected many countries. They have taken many shapes. Some have been clearly nationalistic; others have appeared to be Communist or, at any rate, they have been dominated by Communists. But, even there, nationalism and the desire to put an end to foreign and colonial rule has been evident. In India, we achieved our freedom in our own peaceful way, by agreement. Largely as a consequence of India's independence, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon also

3. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). Fascist dictator of Italy from 1922 till his execution in 1945

4 For b.e. fn see Vol 1 p 6

became independent. Indonesia followed and, then, that vast country China, suddenly emerged as a powerful nation under Communist rule. Meanwhile, war continued in the States of Indo-China and Korea. In North Africa, there were nationalist movements and sporadic uprisings. In the rest of Africa, there was a new awakening of the African people.

5. Many of these national movements were believed to have been caused by international communism. This is a very limited reading of the situation. Communism undoubtedly encouraged some of them and, in others, it came into conflict with nationalism. Essentially, these revolutionary movements were born of the soil and of the conditions that had prevailed there. They would have happened anyhow, though it is possible that they might have taken a somewhat different turn in some places but for this new factor of communism.

6. Thus, there was a great upheaval in the relationships of nations, and this upheaval continued without settling down. In Europe, there was no fighting, but the problem of Germany was far the most important and dangerous problem in the world, and events appeared to march slowly towards some inevitable doom. This happened also in the Far East where the whole balance had been upset by the emergence of China. In Asia, there was turmoil of various kinds, sometimes influenced by Communist activities, but principally representing the urge for freedom from colonial rule. Africa was less developed politically, but it was obvious to any clear-sighted individual that there were the rumblings there of a mighty earthquake.

7. Generally speaking, however, international affairs were dominated by the conflict between the two major groups and, between these two, tension increased and preparations for war became more and more hurried and dominant. People's minds, in spite of their fear and dislike of war, came to accept this horror as an inescapable calamity. A large number of countries were committed to this group or that. Others, though uncommitted and unaligned, gave their sympathy to one or the other. That sympathy was partly

based on some ideological foundation but largely on the expectation that one or the other group would lead them to the freedom they desired.

8. In this tremendous confusion and outpouring of hatred and violence, it was difficult for the voice of peace to be listened to. It is true that the word 'peace' was shouted aloud, just as 'democracy' was bandied about. But these slogans themselves were used in a context of hatred and war. India's voice was a thin, small one, criticized, decried, laughed at and disliked. It was one of the turning points of history for that voice suddenly to assume a certain importance in world affairs. That was not because of India's strength but, rather, because of the rightness of that policy. The only alternative to it was war, and there can be no doubt that nearly all the peoples of the world did not want war.

9. During the last year or more, a gradual change has come over the international scene. It may be said to have begun with the armistice<sup>5</sup> in the Korean war and more so by the Geneva Agreements of a year ago<sup>6</sup> when opposing parties met together and found some way of co-operating, even though in a limited field. The pressure of events drove them, almost against their will, to this Agreement.

10. Other things happened. After Stalin's death, changes began in the Soviet Union. The atom and hydrogen bomb became realities in the public mind and it began to dawn on people everywhere that war was not inevitable and could possibly be avoided. In effect, the idea of peaceful co-existence became practical. The German problem today is far from solution, but nobody imagines that there is going to be war over it and the partition of Germany is accepted for the present and for the foreseeable future. In the Far East, the decision of the United States to contain Chiang Kai-shek and practically give up the idea of attacking the mainland of China was itself an indirect acceptance of the People's Government of China. Even in Korea, the partition appears

<sup>5</sup> See Vo 3 p 344

<sup>6</sup> See Vo 3 p 591

to be accepted and in Vietnam, some countries would rather have two Vietnams than have a conflict over them or even an election. All this means an acceptance of the status quo in areas of imminent danger. That acceptance is by no means permanent, but it is preferred to the alternative of war. In other words, the Great Powers are more or less agreed today that force will not be used to change the status quo. This is not a formal agreement of course, but nevertheless this may be said to be the present position.

11. Such a result is of high significance and naturally lessens tensions and the fear of war. It leads people to think more realistically in terms of negotiated settlements. We may still be very far from such settlements. But at least we look in that direction now and have turned away from thinking continually of an approaching cataclysm.

12. All this fits in with India's policy and in our small way we have helped to bring it about both directly and to some extent by influencing others. It is for this reason that India's credit in the world stands high.

13. With this background of world affairs, let us look at the picture of India internally today. On the whole, it may be said that we have made good on the economic front and laid the foundations of future progress. It is true that we have only touched the fringe of the problem and the real difficulties have still to be faced. We struggle with these difficulties from day to day in trying to formulate our second Five Year Plan. Our hopes and wishes run far ahead of our present capacity and resources. Nevertheless, a feeling of confidence has been created in the country, a feeling of self-reliance and that is more important than large sums of money. In this relatively favourable prospect, we see suddenly outbursts of mob fury and frenzy in Patna and Bihar and, subsequently, the misbehaviour of mobs and unruly crowds in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere. One may allow for excitement and even anger at certain events, but nothing can excuse this collapse of the people's discipline and their turning suddenly to violence and mischief. Our

complacency received a rude shock. Where was our policy of peace and goodwill, where was all the discipline that we thought that we had built up in our country? Was India, in spite of her achievements, doomed to fail? If so, then everything else had no substance and we would topple down at any rude impact.

14 This is a serious situation, almost too serious for us to talk about it much. I have referred to it briefly on one or two occasions, but I have said little of what I had in mind. My faith in India has essentially been based on faith in the soundness of the Indian people. So long as that is held, other things would follow. But if that foundation itself was shaken, then the rest would collapse.

15 I have no doubt that you must also have given a good deal of thought to these occurrences and what they indicate. It may be that political parties or mischievous groups, taking advantage of the situation, have deliberately incited the people. Even so, why should the people respond in the way they did, forgetting all discipline and decency and all that they had been supposed to learn during the last thirty or forty years? Why should our students behave in the way they did? Most amazing of all, why do people not condemn wrong behaviour in students? I have heard few voices doing this. Indeed, at the height of this misbehaviour, everyone seemed to be praising students in Bihar, just when they were acting in a disgraceful way. All this stands quite apart from what the police did. Let us assume that the police were quite wrong. That does not justify students and citizens insulting the Flag,<sup>7</sup> insulting the Governor<sup>8</sup> who was the Head of the State, doing public damage, causing grievous injury to hundreds of persons, attacking completely innocent passengers in railway trains and other places and generally creating violent anarchy. In Goa, tragedy occurred and India was

7. On Independence Day the students at Ranchi demanded that the flag unfurled by the Governor be flown at half mast in memory of those who were killed in police firing in Bihar between 11 and 13 August 1955

8 R R Diwakar For b fn see Vo 1 p 251

shocked beyond measure. But it was a strange way to express sorrow by breaking other people's heads and demonstrating to the world how undisciplined and unruly we were. We, who talk of non-violence and peace and co-existence, put up this show for the world to see. It was a painful thought. The only good it has done is to pull us up and make us realize the dangers of complacency. We shall have to work hard, and we shall have to work fearlessly if we are to meet this situation. There can be no compromise with this particular type of evil. Some people think that we may lose an election if we irritate the students or others. Perhaps so, but we are in the process of losing our souls and our integrity if we submit to this kind of thing.

16. I would rather write to you about a subject which should be uppermost in my mind but for these troubles, the subject of the second Five Year Plan and the future that we are seeking to build up. That is far the most important thing for us, for on that depends both our future happiness and our reputation. But there can be no planning if we are continually faced by these riotous situations and utter lack of discipline. Planning is essentially co-ordinated discipline. Soon, there will be a meeting<sup>9</sup> of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council. This will review our resources and the various draft plans tentatively put forward for consideration. It will have to undertake the painful task of somehow bridging the gap between aspiration and reality. It becomes clearer to me that long distance planning, important as it is, will have to be rather general and that we that shall have to fill in details every year. Naturally, some of our major projects are not for the year, and they take many years to complete. If we undertake them, we have to go through with them. Mixing up of long-distance plans with detailed current plans produces some confusion and in this confusion long-distance thinking suffers. If we are terribly busy with our day to day problems, we cannot give much thought to the morrow or

the day after. You will remember that, even in the first Five Year Plan, our initial success led us to add to that Plan considerably even during the five years. I have every hope that we shall be able to do so in the future also, and we need not imagine that the Plan we make now is something rigid in that respect.

17 More and more, the country becomes plan-conscious. That is a great gain, but this consciousness has to be translated into the reality of the clear thinking and close co-operation at all levels of Government and people. The idea of merely planning for a number of projects almost independently of each other, is clearly no planning at all. We talk of planning for needs, keeping resources in view of course. The calculation of needs, necessarily, leads to working out the entire picture. The development of our industry cannot succeed without railway and transport. Our industry cannot get on without steel and coal. We were unwise to delay steel production in the past and now we have to face this problem in a big way. In the Central Government, there has to be the closest dovetailing between the Ministries of Iron and Steel, Production, Commerce and Industry and Railways and Transport. Between the States and the Centre, there must of necessity be the closest co-operation. And, above all, we have to think of the employment aspect. The more we look at the manifold aspects of planning, the more intricate it appears. At the same time, as we understand it more and more, we get to grips with it and a certain assurance comes that we shall deal with it successfully.

18 I must congratulate the States on the care taken in the preparation of their plans. There has been far greater realism in the approach now than there was at the time of the first Five Year Plan. Also, we see that much more money is forthcoming now from the people in the shape of loans and savings campaigns. I hope that full publicity will be given to all that we are doing in the States and in the Centre. Let the people realize the nature of the problems, the difficulties we have to face and the effort we shall have to make in order to succeed.

19. As you know, I have attached the greatest importance to our community projects and the national extension service. The latter is the broad base on which we shall build. The community project is the activating element without which the broad base would be rather lifeless. It is important, therefore, that this work which has already met with so much success should be continued with full vigour.

20. Our Parliament is meeting and is hard at work. I shall not tell you what it has been doing for this receives publicity enough. In Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and North Bengal, heavy floods have again descended upon us. In Pakistan many changes have taken place.<sup>10</sup> There is a new Governor General and a new Prime Minister<sup>11</sup> and a Cabinet. The rupee there has been devalued at last.<sup>12</sup> In Indo-China, difficulties abound and increase and we have to face them. In Geneva there has been a hopeful and promising conference, that on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.<sup>13</sup> One of our eminent scientists<sup>14</sup> presided over this, a sign and a portent of our future development in this tremendous field.

21. You may have read Dr. Bhabha's inaugural address<sup>15</sup> in which he divided up human history into three phases. The first was right from the beginning upto the Industrial Revolution about 150 years ago. The Industrial Revolution

10. See *ante*, p. 250.

11. Chaudhury Mohammad Ali (1905-1980). Joined Indian Audit and Accounts Service, 1928; Secretary-General of Pakistan Civil Service, 1947-51; Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, 1951-55; Prime Minister, 1955-56.

12. On 31 July 1955.

13. The international conference on peaceful uses of atomic energy was held between 8 and 21 August 1955.

14. Homi J. Bhabha.

15. In his address on 8 August, Bhabha declared that growth of atomic energy in the world as an industry would compel the major States to agree to maintain peace. He said that "our first duty as scientists is to establish the truth and in this matter our responsibility to humanity transcends our allegiance to any State." He also felt that man's need for power would be met by harnessing within the next twenty years the vast potential of atomic and nuclear

ushered in the second phase with great power at man's disposal. We stand now on the threshold of the third great phase when unimagined sources of power may be opened out to the world. In this new epoch of the world, India has certain marked advantages. But the question comes here, as elsewhere, as to how far this power will be used for good. More than ever it is human standards and values that are going to count.

22. I have written little about the problem of Goa, which has become so important for us. It does not matter much if the solution of this problem is delayed by a year or two. It does matter greatly that we do not take a wrong step. Unfortunately a wrong direction has been given to the movement for the liberation of Goa and hence our difficulties have increased.

23. I am going early tomorrow morning to Assam, partly to see the flood-affected areas, partly to confer with our colleagues there about certain problems affecting the tribal areas. Assam is one of our problem States because of the multiplicity and the variety of the problems it has to face.

24. I shall not be here to sign this letter. I hope you will forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,

# 31

New Delhi  
18 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,\*

The Speaker of the Lok Sabha has written to me on the subject of the status, salary and allowances and other emoluments of the Deputy Chairmen and Deputy Speakers in the State Legislatures. This question has been raised on several occasions in the Conference of Presiding Officers which are held annually.

It appears that there is considerable difference from State to State in regard to these matters. To some extent, this difference is perhaps inevitable as the States themselves differ in many ways. There are, however, some general considerations which, the Speaker suggests, should be kept in view. Broadly speaking, he thinks that the Deputy Speakers (and Deputy Chairmen where such exist) should have the same status, salary, etc., as the Deputy Ministers. It is true that the Deputy Speakers have probably much less work to do in the State Legislatures, but they occupy a position of importance and it would be improper to keep them on a lower level.

In some places, the Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman is permitted to carry on some profession such as, usually, of lawyers. The Speaker is strongly of opinion that it is not proper for a Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman to appear as a lawyer in the courts. His post as Deputy Speaker should be a whole-time one. That, indeed, is the practice in Parliament. I think it is undesirable for the Deputy Speaker or Deputy Chairman to appear in law courts or practice

\*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

some other profession or business. That will undoubtedly take away somewhat from his dignity as Deputy Speaker.

If the Deputy Speakers and Deputy Chairmen are to be whole-time officers of the State Legislatures, then they should be paid at least on the level of the Deputy Ministers.

The questions, therefore, are:

- (1) The Deputy Speaker (or Chairman) should be given the same status in the order of precedence as the Deputy Minister.
- (2) He should be given the same salary and allowances as the Deputy Minister.
- (3) His post should be a whole-time one, and he should not practice some profession or business.

These general proposals appear to me to be worthy of acceptance. A certain uniformity is desirable.

It is true that the salary and allowances of Deputy Ministers vary in different States. That does not matter. The point is that the Deputy Speaker should be placed in the same category in this respect as the Deputy Minister.

I might mention that what I have suggested above is actually the practice in some States. However, I am sending this letter to all the Chief Ministers for their information.

The next meeting of the Presiding Officers' Conference is going to take place at Shillong on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th November. It is desirable that, before that meeting takes place, the State Governments might express their views on this subject. This will help that Conference.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 32

New Delhi  
21 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

Events crowd in upon us and I lag behind, unable to keep pace with them, or at any rate unable to write to you regularly every fortnight. Even now, I am writing to you not at leisure, as I would like, but in some haste.

2. By the end of this month, we are promised the Report of the States Reorganization Commission. A little after I hope to be able to send a copy of that Report to you. For my part, I have kept my mind closed to this subject because it serves little purpose to think of it or talk of it when I do not know what it is. But, there is so much talk about it even in the lobbies of Parliament that one would imagine the people knew what it contained. Almost, one might think that the only people who do not know about this report are the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and their colleagues in the Central Cabinet. Even some Chief Ministers have used much loose language in this respect, which I regret very much.

3. Not knowing what the report will recommend, I shall hold my peace till I see it. Even after that, I propose to remain silent in public. It is not right or fitting for us to rush to the press to express our views on a matter of high moment till we have considered it fully and consulted each other. I hope, therefore, that when you get this report, you will keep it confidential and refrain from any comments, even though you might feel the urge to say something. I would even request you to exercise your influence in dissuading others from indulging in comments at that early stage. Of course we shall have to comment upon it and have our say but this

should be in an organized, dispassionate way when the time comes for it. There is already too much passion and excitement in the air.

4 I wrote to you some time ago about this report and pointed out that it will not be an easy matter for us to reject unanimous recommendations. It is quite likely that some of us may not like some of the recommendations, but if once we start rejecting basic recommendations, that will mean an upsetting of the whole structure of the report and opening out a flood of heated controversy. Controversy there is bound to be, whatever the recommendations. At any rate, we should try to check it and keep it in right channels.

5. I do not mean to say that we are bound hand and foot by the recommendations of the report. It is the duty of Government to examine it carefully and then decide, and it is the final responsibility and function of Parliament to decide. What I said previously merely indicated my general approach to this question. That approach was made in total ignorance of what the report might say. That ignorance largely continues still.

6. While it is necessary that we should give careful thought to this report and refrain from comments at the early stage, it also appears to be desirable that we should not delay this consideration. That delay itself may prove a cause of excitement. Therefore, I hope that it will be possible for us to consider this report at a fairly early stage both in our Cabinet here and in the Congress Working Committee.

7. The Goan issue has rather overshadowed most other matters in recent weeks.<sup>1</sup> In the debate on foreign affairs in

1. Endorsing the A.I.C.C. resolution of 4 September, the Government banned from 6 September the entry into Goa of satyagrahis. The Opposition parties criticized this decision as creating "a crisis in the movement for the liberation of Goa."

Parliament.<sup>2</sup> almost all the speakers confined themselves to Goa. The Opposition Members grew eloquent in their denunciation of Government over this matter.<sup>3</sup> But no one, so far as I could make out, made any worthwhile suggestion for a different course than the one the Government had decided upon. Every other course suggested was either just exhibitionist and ineffective or led to some form of military action. And yet, there was hardly anyone who clearly demanded military action. This itself shows the lack of clear thinking on this issue. The first thing that we have to be clear about is whether we are going to proceed on peaceful lines or take police or military measures. When the question is stated in this way, the almost invariable answers is that we should continue our peaceful methods. If so, then we must not think of any course of action which might lead away from these peaceful methods. I dealt with this question at some length in my speeches in the Lok Sabha<sup>4</sup> and I hope you took the trouble to read them.

8. A recent important development in international affairs was the visit of Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow.<sup>5</sup> This resulted in an agreement to exchange diplomatic missions between the two countries. This agreement has been considered by the countries of Western Europe, and more especially the United States, as something in the nature of a diplomatic defeat, and yet it is difficult logically to criticize it or to justify the refusal of such diplomatic representation.

## 2. On 6-7 September 1955

3. The Government reiterated that peaceful means alone should be adopted to free Goa from alien control. The Opposition parties demanded "a radical change" in Government policy and support to the satyagraha movement, and issue of an ultimatum to the Portuguese to quit Goa

4. On 6 September, Nehru stressed the need for following peaceful methods which may include "economic action in various ways", and avoiding "even individual satyagraha at present". Again, on 16 September, he clarified that "we employ methods which are either peaceful or violent. One cannot have it both ways... If we suddenly reverse our policy, the world will get an opportunity to say that we are deceitful. It is a question of principle."

5. Between 9 and 14 September 1955. See ante pp 232 and 239

9 It is clear that the Soviet Government has come to the conclusion that there is no near prospect of the unification of Germany. Not being agreeable to the kind of union that the Western Powers wanted, the Soviet Union has accepted the fact of two Germanys and is proceeding accordingly. There is no easy way to dislodge them from this position and hence the resentment caused in Western countries over the result of Chancellor Adenauer's visit to Moscow. The two Germanys are therefore likely to continue in the foreseeable future, whether we like them or not. If we rule out war, the only other way is by some kind of negotiation and agreement, and no negotiation can now be successful if it ignores East Germany. Hence the deadlock.

10 The mammoth Companies Bill<sup>6</sup> has passed through the Lok Sabha and will be enacted soon.<sup>7</sup> There have been many criticisms of this.<sup>8</sup> It is easy to criticize any small part of it, but the way to judge such measures is to consider them as a whole. I have no doubt that this is a considerable advance and will help us in our work.

11 Recently I went to Vindhya Pradesh,<sup>9</sup> a State which has the appearance of having been long neglected. Vindhya Pradesh is next door to my home district of Allahabad, but I have known little about it. I found it a very attractive place and rich with potentiality. Climatically, it is better off than the great plains that adjoin it. It is a plateau of 1000 to nearly 3500 feet and largely consists of undulating land, which is a pleasant change from the flat plains of northern and central India. There are perennial rivers and there are many minerals. In spite of a great deal of deforestation, there are

6. See *ante*, p. 58.

7. The Bill was passed by Lok Sabha on 12 September and by Rajya Sabha on 28 September 1955.

8. The Communists asked the Government to fix a ceiling on profits in all industrial undertakings, and Asoka Mehta of the Praja Socialist Party wanted the Government to curb the "evil" practice of companies starting with their surplus earnings new ventures which were unrelated to their pal business.

9 Nehru visited Rewa on 10 September 1955

huge forests full of wild animals. The soil has suffered because of neglect and because of the semi-feudal system that prevailed there in the days of the petty Rajas. Vindhya Pradesh is an example of deterioration and decay because of an out-of-date social system.

12. That system has fortunately gone now, but it has left its traces behind and there has been much denudation of the soil and a sense of backwardness all over. There are, as elsewhere in the old Indian States, large houses lying vacant and gradually deteriorating. Our States Ministry in the old days was over-generous with this property, which should have gone to the State rather than to private parties who can ill-afford its upkeep. The obvious course is for these big houses to be used for public purposes, and for those who own them to hand them over for this purpose. Vindhya Pradesh has certainly made some progress in the past few years. The community projects and the national extension service there are doing well but the thing which attracted me most were the people of Vindhya Pradesh. They are a good lot and, given the chance, they will go ahead. Probably, in the near future, people will be talking of the diamonds of Vindhya Pradesh. Diamonds, in our present order of things, are more important than people. Anyhow, I hope that the diamonds will bring additional resources for the benefit of the people.

13. Some little time ago,<sup>10</sup> a meeting of the National Development Council was held in Delhi to listen to a progress report in regard to planning and the second Five Year Plan. We were up against serious difficulties and some of the plans and calculations we had made originally did not prove to be correct. Far more money was required to attain the objectives aimed at, and there was no obvious way to find this money. We adhered, however, to the figure of Rs. 4,300 crores for the five-year period, but we began to think more of flexible plans rather than a rigid framework. As our information grows, we are in a better position to plan

Fortunately, and for this I should like to congratulate the States, the information supplied by the States on this occasion has been far better and more systematic than previously. It is now proposed to have rather a general and flexible five year plan with more detailed annual plans. This gives us a certain elbow room and scope for improvement wherever we find ourselves able to do so. Thus, after a year or two of the second Plan, we might well be able to revise it. We hope this revision will be upward but that, of course, will depend upon circumstances and our resources. With greater experience and data, our capacity for planning more correctly grows. Fortunately, the response of our people to State loans has been very good.

14 You will remember the Plan Frame and the Report of the economists and others on it. The actual figures given in it were subsequently found to be often erroneous because we did not have enough data then. Nevertheless, the general approach of the Plan Frame was not affected by incorrect figures. The National Development Council, therefore, again approved of that general approach of the Plan Frame, subject to corrections wherever necessary.

15 The Planning Commission is hard at work drawing the skeleton of the second Five Year Plan. Meanwhile, we have felt that it would be desirable to have a more detailed operational and statistical approach, side by side with the work of the Planning Commission. This will be particularly helpful in giving us the right perspective for the future as well as in applying the necessary correctives to current planning. We have, therefore, decided to set up<sup>11</sup> what might be called a 'Joint Planning Unit' for operational purposes as well as for perspective planning. This will work separately but in close coordination with the Planning Commission. In fact, it will largely be a continuation in a somewhat bigger way of the work done in producing the Plan Frame.

16 At the National Development Council meeting, the question of community projects and the national extension

service came up for discussion. While the rapid extension of the national extension service was considered essential, it was considered equally important to have a sufficient number of community projects. These projects have worked on a more intensive scale and, as we have seen, are life-giving centres of activity. In fact, it is the community projects which have created something in the nature of a sensation in many of our rural areas. Without them it was felt that our rural work would lose much of its present significance. After much discussion, it was decided that at least forty per cent of the area covered by the community movement and the national extension service should consist of community projects. A larger percentage of the community projects was considered difficult in the circumstances, a lesser one was considered bad as it would lead to a watering down of our rural work and a lowering of our standards. Therefore, we have to adhere to this percentage, that is community projects should be forty per cent of the rural work undertaken. We hope that, by the end of the second Five Year Plan, the national extension service will cover the whole area and forty per cent of that area would be under the community projects. If, by some mischance, we cannot go that far, the proportion nevertheless will remain as stated and planning should take place in the States on this basis.

17. We have had a visit<sup>12</sup> from the Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt<sup>13</sup> who is, next to Colonel Nasser, the outstanding leader in present-day Egypt. Those who met him found him a very attractive person, earnest, thoughtful and forthright. Only today, the Crown Prince<sup>14</sup> of Laos and the Prime Minister<sup>15</sup> of Laos left Delhi for a further tour of India. This coming together of India and the Indo-China States is full of historic significance. We seem to go back to a period some

12. From 8 to 10 September 1955.

13. Wing Commander Gamel Salem.

14. Tiao Savang Vatthana (b. 1907) Prime Minister, 1946-51; King of Laos 959-75

15. Katay Don Sasonith 904 1955 Prime Minister of Laos 954 ?

hundreds of years ago, when there were close contacts, and we pick up the broken threads again.

18 Many distinguished visitors are coming to India in the course of the next two or three months. Probably Marshal Bulganin will be here in the second half of November.<sup>16</sup> He is expected to stay in India for about a fortnight and will no doubt visit some important cities. We must give him a warm and well-organized welcome.

19 The floods have descended upon us again. Just as eastern U.P. and north Bihar were recovering, they have had another terrific downpour of rain, but perhaps the worst experience in this respect is that of Orissa.<sup>17</sup> After suffering for a long time from drought, the people of Orissa are now submerged in flood water. They are passing through a difficult ordeal. I am going to Orissa tomorrow morning for two days. So, I shall not be able to sign this letter. I hope you will excuse this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Arriving in New Delhi on 18 November, Bulganin and Khrushchev completed the first round of their tour of India on 1 December before leaving for Rangoon. They again spent a week in India from 7 to 14 December 1955.

17. It was reported that nearly 300,000 people had been marooned in the unprecedented floods caused by heavy rains in the coastal area from Hir to Barasore in the last week of August.

New Delhi  
27 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I am writing to you on a subject which, I am sure, has caused you much concern. This is the subject of education. There are many aspects of this question, and we have all noticed with some dismay the growing indiscipline among our students. I do not propose to touch many of these aspects which, no doubt, are before you.

2. What is worrying me greatly is the rapid and progressive decline in our educational standards. It is really astonishing how these standards are falling, and if this process goes on, it simply means that we shall become a third-rate nation, in spite of our efforts in other directions. This decline is obvious in the new entrants in our Universities as well as those who appear for our public examinations. Even such Universities as took pride in their high standards in the past are now on the downgrade. Many of our teachers do not impress at all. Research is almost non-existent among the teachers. Some of them, indeed, are much too busy in manoeuvring and canvassing for some position or in indulging in politics in the Universities. We can hardly blame the students when the teachers themselves act in this way.

3. Many causes have probably led to this deterioration. One of them appears to be that students who go to Universities are hardly capable of understanding lectures or of writing correctly in any language. The shift-over from English to Hindi or any other Indian language has for the

time being at least, resulted in ignorance of every language. The kind of English that is written, is deplorable. Indeed, it is not English at all. Hindi is not adequately known, except perhaps in some of the Hindi-speaking States.

4. The result of all this is bound to be an ignorant generation with just a smattering of knowledge. Quite apart from the literary and cultural aspects, it is clear that, in regard to many of the essential subjects for our progress, we shall be unable to find competent men. In our five year plan, the main difficulty is going to be the lack of trained personnel. In specialized subjects we may give them some elementary training but for any higher training a good knowledge is necessary in some foreign language. We have no adequate books in our Indian languages for science, technology, engineering, economics, medicine, defence, and a number of other subjects. We should, of course, try to produce these books, but books cannot easily be produced to order, and translations are seldom satisfactory. Anyhow, we can hardly translate hundreds and thousands of technical books. No one can do scientific work properly without knowing more than one foreign language. This applies to many other subjects too. In fact, normally, an educated person in Europe is supposed to know fairly well two or three languages and to be able to read some more.

5. It is odd that just when India has come out of her shell after long years of subjection and is coming into contact with the wider world, in its many activities, we should again revert back to a new shell of our making and cut ourselves off from modern thought and activities. In foreign countries, even with highly developed languages, other languages are compulsory subjects. Even in the Soviet Union, this is so.

6. This means that we should not only know our own language well but that it is equally important for us to know at least one leading foreign language, which necessarily has to be a European language today because modern scientific and technical literature is in those languages. For us it is obviously easier to learn English than any other language though it is desirable for us to cultivate other languages too

7 I feel, therefore, that it is quite essential that English should be a compulsory subject and it should be learnt adequately. This, in fact, is being done in most countries because English is by far the most widespread and important language in the world. This does not mean at all that we should in any sense pay less attention to our own languages. Indeed, I think our languages will only develop fully by contact with modern European literature and science and technology.

8 I find that there is a tendency for English not even to be made a compulsory subject. Such education as is given in English is of the feeblest kind. Indeed, we have come to a stage when the teachers themselves do not know much of the language.

9 I am alarmed at the prospect. All our fine schemes will go to pieces because of this lack in our education.

10. I am not referring here to the unfortunate fact that the administration of our Universities has also weakened considerably. We are constantly up against conflicts, demonstrations and political tussles both among the teachers and the students. I think this is largely due to the lower standards of the teachers or the administrators. After all, it is the teacher that makes the pupil. There is another possibility which fills me with concern. These new developments in our teaching are likely to lessen the bond of unity in India and to separate each linguistic area from the other. That is a serious consideration.

11. I am venturing to draw your attention to this because a policy of drift appears to me to be fatal. We must come to grips with this matter. Perhaps, it may be desirable at some time in the near future for Education Ministers to meet together to consider this aspect. I shall be grateful to have your reactions to what I have written.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 34

New Delhi  
30 September, 1955

My dear Chief Minister.\*

This afternoon a copy of the Report<sup>1</sup> of the States Reorganization Commission was delivered to me, a copy having been sent to the President to whom it is addressed. The Home Ministry will be sending you very soon a copy of this Report. Please keep this secret. There has unfortunately been far too much loose talk on this subject during the past few weeks. Chief Ministers certainly should be the last persons to talk about this Report till it is released for publication.

2 I have not had time to read the Report and I have only glanced through some of the main recommendations. I do not wish to express any opinion till I have consulted my colleagues.

3 As the subject of this Report has attracted a great deal of attention, we feel that publication of it should not be delayed too much. All of us, whether in the Centre or the States, have to give the fullest consideration to it and naturally we shall take some little time. It does not seem necessary, however, for publication of the Report to be postponed till we have come

\*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. Taking into account such factors as language, homogeneity, facilities for communication, socio-economic imbalances between contiguous regions and within the regions, and the educational and cultural needs and aspirations of the people, the Report suggested the replacement of existing 27 States by 16 full-fledged States and 3 centrally administered areas; removal of the distinction between Parts 'A', 'B', and 'C' States, abolition of the system of Rajpramukhs; and readjustment of the States, boundaries in some places.

to our own decisions. There is far too much speculation and on the whole, it seems better to issue the Report to the public within a reasonable time. I cannot say definitely on what date this will be issued, but it is our intention to do so within two weeks. This will give you some time also to read and consider the Report. We feel that it will not be desirable to issue any brief summary of the Report. It is better to issue the entire Report when the time comes for it.

4. It is clear that the recommendations of the Report will meet with a mixed reception. That was inevitable. It was not possible to produce something which everybody would like. Already there is evidence of strong irritation in some quarters. We must try, of course, to help to create an atmosphere of objective and dispassionate consideration of the Report and the problem. Whatever our opinion might be in regard to any particular recommendation, we must agree about one thing and that is that we cannot tolerate unconstitutional action. There are plenty of ways of constitutional expression of opinion. This is going to be a big test for all of us.

5. The Report and the recommendations will have to be discussed at the appropriate time in State Legislatures and also in Parliament. But before that time comes, we shall have to apply our joint minds to it. It may be necessary for us to have a meeting of Chief Ministers to consider it.

6. Nothing has so far been decided, but I am writing to you immediately as I want to share my thoughts with you and to impress upon you that we must do everything in our power to deal with this subject in a democratic and disciplined way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
1 October, 1955

Officially and for many other purposes, we use the Gregorian Calendar. This is in fact recognized as the international calendar and it seems to me desirable that we should continue the use of this calendar. There are proposals before the United Nations to substitute this by what is called a new World Calendar.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the virtue of this World Calendar might be, it is highly unlikely that this is going to be accepted by most countries.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the Gregorian Calendar will continue.

Apart from the use of the Gregorian Calendar, the question arises as to how we should deal with the numerous other calendars<sup>3</sup> that exist in India. There is a great deal of confusion in this matter. Those calendars have a scientific basis, but, I am told, owing to very small error in the calculation of the day, this has been magnified in the course of centuries. It is desirable to correct this error and to have a certain uniformity in regard to these indigenous calendars which govern our holidays, etc.

\*A Note circulated to all Chief Ministers.

1 The Government of India had proposed to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1954 a world calendar which while retaining the cycle of the twelve months would have had each month consisting of twenty-six days, with each day and the date conforming uniformly from year to year and the holidays fixed permanently.

2 On 17 May 1955, the United Nations Economic and Social Council decided to postpone any consideration of the Indian proposal and on 20 April 1956 shelved the plan due to poor response from member countries.

3 These were the *Bikram* or *Samvat*, the *Saka* or *Sakabda*, the Bengali year, the *Buddha* era, the *Chaitanya* era, the *Kaliyuga* and the Islamic calendar.

I am no expert in this matter, but it does appear to me that uniformity is desirable. The Committee for the Reformed Calendar of India<sup>4</sup> has studied this matter with great care and presented a report which I am sending to the Chief Ministers and which I commend to their attention. I am also sending a note which gives a summary and which will be found useful.

I trust that the Chief Ministers will be good enough to consider this question and have these papers examined by their Governments and to let me have their comments.

4. The Calendar Reform Committee constituted by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in November 1952 under the chairmanship of Prof. M N. Saha recommended the use of a unified national calendar, and suggested (1) the use of *Saka* era along with civil calendar and change-over from 1878 *Chaitra* to from 21 March 1956 and (2) a solar calendar for all India use.

# 36

New Delhi  
14 October, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letters to you grow more and more irregular I do not know if this is a sign of age or an abundance of work or both. Anyhow, I do not like it, because I want to keep in fairly close touch with you, so as to be able to share my mind and thoughts.

2 I have often written to you that these thoughts specially concern themselves with the second Five Year Plan.<sup>1</sup> I must confess that for the moment even the Five Year Plan has receded somewhat to the background. We have to deal in the immediate present and in the near future with floods—overwhelming floods of rain and water and floods of passion. The latter are the immediate result of the Report of the States Reorganization Commission.

3. It is not quite correct to say that the excitement and tension in various parts of the country are due to the Report. They have been in the country for some years past, sometimes reaching a crisis and then toning down. In fact, it was because of this ferment that we appointed the States Reorganization Commission nearly two years ago. The appointment of this Commission had become inevitable then. There was some quiet on the surface during this period that the Commission was functioning. But now that the Report has come, these checks have been removed and the old ferment tends to boil over.

4 Yesterday and today we had meetings of the Congress Working Committee and we gave a good deal of thought to

<sup>1</sup> See ante pp 268 270

this matter, because, inevitably we have to take major political decisions and these decisions, in their broad features, have to be made by the Congress. The Congress carries a heavy load of responsibility in this and other matters and we cannot shirk the issue or even try to postpone it. We have come face to face with it and we must, therefore, take decisions.

5 The Working Committee, during their two-day session, conducted a preliminary survey of the Report. We did not discuss the many detailed problems that arise from its recommendations, but rather our general approach. It would not have been right to come to any final decisions without further consultation. We are, therefore, meeting in the near future the Chief Ministers and the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees. The State Legislatures will no doubt also meet and, finally Parliament. You will have seen the Working Committee's resolution passed today.<sup>2</sup>

6 The possible approaches to this major problem are four

- (i) to postpone the consideration of the Report for a considerable time and allow the status quo to remain;
- (ii) to accept the Report in toto;
- (iii) to accept the major approach of the Report, making minor changes;
- (iv) to treat the Report without too much ceremony as just a basis for our consideration and make such changes as we like, major or minor.

The first of these courses, that is, postponement of this issue, is obviously out of the question. The choice, therefore, lies between the other three. It is clear that if once the very basis of the Report is upset, then we have confusion and a free for all fight.

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2. The resolution urged "a cooperative approach" to the Report "and the problems dealt with in it, which should be seen in their entirety, apart from their individual merits." It asked Congressmen to avoid "the agitational approach" to the Report and refrain from associating themselves with other parties or groups in any agitation or in making any demands.

7. In my broadcast,<sup>3</sup> on the eve of the publication of the Report, I said that I had read some of the proposals with a little surprise. That did not mean that I accepted or rejected anything, but there is no doubt that some proposals were quite novel to me which I had not envisaged. I must say that the Report is an able document with a logical presentation of the problem leading up to certain conclusions. It reads well and there is no appearance of passion or prejudice in it. On closer analysis, it may be said that the basic logic is perhaps not always followed or, at any rate, there are likely to be differences of opinion. Indeed, there are in fact many such differences as we can see for ourselves. The question is, how we are to deal with these conflicts of opinion, passionately held. As the Working Committee resolution has said, this is a test for each one of us. In the international sphere, India has taken up the attitude that every problem, however difficult it might appear to be, is capable of solution by peaceful methods. The solution may be delayed or it may not be reached at one jump. Nevertheless, we have to try to solve it peacefully and give up the thought of war. This idea is gradually taking root, helped no doubt by the coming of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

8. If that is so in the sphere of international relations it must be even more necessary for us to follow that course in national affairs. Indeed that is the meaning of democracy. Problems are solved by arguments and the approach to reason and the ultimate decision is accepted even by those who disagree with it. The alternative is, in the final analysis, a civil war or some smaller variation of it.

9. I do not mean to imply that there is a possibility of civil war in India. I am merely analyzing the possible courses of action. If it is agreed that all our national problems must be settled peacefully and democratically and that on no account will other methods be followed, then it is easier to deal with

<sup>3</sup> On 9 October, Nehru appealed to the nation to consider the Report 'with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration. This is a hard test for us and our future might well depend upon how we face it and deal with it.'

them. It is impossible to satisfy everyone when there is so much divergence of opinion. There should be an attempt to understand the other party's point of view, some give and take, and a final acceptance of whatever decision is arrived at.

10. We have some major problems of course affecting large numbers of people. But what surprises me is the passion roused by rather trivial disputes over boundaries. That is not a healthy sign.

11. It is not possible for every little group to have its way or every little area to be given some kind of self-determination in this matter. But it is clear that we cannot compel for long any major group or large areas to be joined on to another against its own wishes. You will remember that when the Andhra question reached a somewhat critical stage, we announced as our general policy that we would agree to any solution with the consent of the parties concerned. It was because this consent was lacking in regard to Andhra and Tamil Nad that the formation of the Andhra State was delayed. The main conflict was in regard to the city of Madras. Ultimately, the Andhra leaders accepted the new State minus the city of Madras. There was then no major conflict left and we had to give effect to the policy we had enunciated not only in regard to Andhra but in regard to other areas also. There is some impression, and there is often reference to this in the press, that the Andhra State was formed because of the self-immolation of Shri Sriramulu.<sup>4</sup> We all regretted that sacrifice but, as a matter of fact, it had nothing to do with our agreement to form the Andhra State. That agreement had been reached even previous to the death of Sriramulu. In fact, it followed naturally from the giving up of the claim to Madras city. If that demand had not been given up, no amount of hungerstriking or other methods of pressure would have led to that settlement.

12. This same principle has to be applied now. Where there is agreement between the principal parties concerned,

there is no particular difficulty in our changing the recommendations of the Report; where there is no such agreement, it is not easy to upset the structure of that Report, except in relatively minor matters.

13. The floods that have descended upon us from the heavens this year have been unique in intensity and in extent. Indeed, we are told that probably nothing like this has happened for two or three generations or even a hundred years. People talk of a cycle of a hundred years; others blame radioactivity because of the hydrogen bomb experiments. However that may be, we have to face this disaster here and now. Fortunately we do not lack food in the country, but the loss and damage are colossal and the whole country must come to the rescue of those who are affected. I am glad to say that there has been a good response all over the country as well as from abroad to the relief funds.

14. The Foreign Ministers of the so-called Big Four countries are meeting soon.<sup>5</sup> No one appears to expect much out of this meeting, as the position of the major adversaries has hardened. The problem of Germany, which really means the problem of Europe, appears almost insoluble at present. The Western allies had followed a course of action which brought Western Germany completely into their fold. This was hailed with success and so it was in that narrow field. But, having succeeded there, the Western countries have come up against a blank wall. The Soviet Union calmly tells them now to deal with Eastern Germany and none of the Western countries recognizes Eastern Germany. There is no chance, therefore, of a solution of this problem in the foreseeable future. Fortunately there is no fear of war and tensions have lessened.

5. C Pineau of France, V. Molotov of the Soviet Union, Harold Macmillan of Britain, and J.F. Dulles of the United States met at Geneva from 27 October to 16 November 1955 but were unable to reach agreement on any of the subjects on the agenda.

15. In North Africa there is continuing tragedy.<sup>6</sup> France, so proud and great, still thinks in terms of her ancient power and glory and does not recognize that she is no longer capable of supporting the Empire except with the goodwill of the people concerned. This is a double tragedy—tragedy for France and tragedy for the North African countries. France walked out of the General Assembly of the United Nations<sup>7</sup> in anger because that Assembly decided to consider the question of Algeria in spite of the opposition of the United States and the United Kingdom.

16. There has been something in the nature of a crisis in the Middle East, because of Egypt's decision<sup>8</sup> to buy arms from Czechoslovakia. This came as a great shock to the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., and these two countries even went to the length of threatening the Egyptian Government with blockade to prevent these arms from reaching Egypt. Colonel Nasser, the Prime Minister, took up a strong line against these pressure tactics with the result that both the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. were put in a false position and had to withdraw from it without much grace. The situation there continues to be rather critical.

6. The French Government proclaimed an emergency in Algeria and suppressed severely the nationalist movement but guerilla attacks on French forces and military posts showed no signs of abatement. Four Ministers resigned on 6 October following differences in the Cabinet on policy relating to Morocco and its Sultan who had been exiled.

7. On 30 September 1955. Two days later, the French Cabinet decided unanimously to recall its permanent delegation from the U.N. and to take no further part in the session of the General Assembly.

8. On 27 September, Colonel Nasser announced that a commercial agreement had been signed whereby Czechoslovakia would supply to Egypt in exchange for Egyptian products such as cotton and rice.

am going away early tomorrow morning to pay a visit  
Damodar Valley for the purpose of inaugurating the  
Dam.<sup>9</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

) The dam in Hazaribagh district in Bihar was the second of the four  
du dams which formed part of the Damodar Valley project.

New Delhi  
 26 October, 1955  
*Vijaya Dashmi Day*

My dear Chief Minister.

The political horizon in India has been completely overcast by the Report of the States Reorganization Commission and the reactions it has produced. I do not propose to discuss here the merits of the various proposals made. As you know, we have been giving the most careful thought to them and we shall continue to do so. We have consulted representatives from various States, often in disagreement with each other. In such matters, some kind of a logical and scientific approach, though desirable, does not lead us far. One has to take into consideration a large variety of factors. It is not a question of appeasing this group or that but, rather, of trying to evolve something which meets the largest measure of agreement and which avoids, as far as possible, the element of compulsion.

2 While it is desirable and necessary to have the widest consultation, it appears to be equally necessary not to delay decisions. From the point of view even of a time-table which will enable us to give effect to any changes before the elections, an early decision is necessary. Delay in this means either postponing the changes or putting off the elections. Both courses are undesirable, and we wish to avoid them. Apart from this question of the time-table, it is also not desirable to have interminable arguments often accompanied by passion. The Chief Ministers' Conference which was held recently, therefore, decided on a time-table<sup>1</sup>

1. The conference at New Delhi on 22 and 23 October 1955 urged that the reorganization of the States should be completed by October 1956

which, if strictly adhered to, makes it just possible for us to hold the next general elections in March 1957. This means that some kind of a final decision, so far as the Central Government is concerned, should be taken by the end of the first week of January 1956. Previous to that, there has to be a preliminary discussion in Parliament, probably in December. After that, a Bill to amend the Constitution will be placed before Parliament, the States having been consulted previously.

3. Each one of us naturally has some views about this reorganization of States, both from the point of view of the principles involved and practical considerations. That is completely natural. But, constituted as I am, I fail to understand why this question should rouse so much passion and excited debate, not to mention threats of some action or other. I feel unhappy and distressed at the picture of India that I see before me today. It seems to go counter to the basic principles on which we have stood and to the objectives that we have aimed at. In a democracy there should be the fullest freedom of expression of opinion and argument. There should also be some method of final decision which is accepted. If people go about saying that they will not accept a decision unless it is according to their own views, then that is the negation of democracy. It undermines the whole conception of the unity of India. It means that we are prepared to have unity provided that unity is fashioned after our liking, otherwise we reject that unity. It means that certain conditions which are less than national and which may be provincial, linguistic, communal or any other, have precedence over the broader national approach. We may differ, of course, as to what the national approach is; each one may think that his own approach is the true national approach. Who is to decide? Surely, the decision can only be made by the normal democratic process or else we bid goodbye to democracy, in addition to unity.

4. Something of the fierceness of the approach of a bigoted religion comes into our consideration of linguistic provinces. Each person thinks that his doxy is orthodoxy,

other doxies are heterodoxies. I should like you and others to ponder over this matter, for it is of the most serious concern to all of us and to the future of India. It is our misfortune that this question should have taken this acute form just when India is showing a new life and is marching forward; just when we are on the eve of putting forward our second Five Year Plan; just when a large number of our distinguished visitors are coming here, attracted to some extent by the position and importance that India has achieved during these past few years. Is this the penalty of success or of pride in our success which leads to complacency and a loss of perspective? I do not know but I am troubled as you must be. We have sowed the wind and we have now to reap the whirlwind.

5. But, however unhappy we may feel at this present picture of India, we cannot run away from our duty or our task and if there is a whirlwind then we have to face that and control it. Here we are facing the greatest flood disaster in India in a hundred years. We have not lost heart because of it and we are trying our utmost to face this calamity and to succour those who are afflicted. Are we to lose our nerve because some people have lost their balance? We must hold fast to our anchor and proceed, as calmly and dispassionately as possible, to face this situation and come to wise decisions. On no account must we be swept off our feet.

6. This evening, I went to see the great *Ramlila* celebrations in Delhi city. Over a great part of India similar celebrations were taking place. They were not very well organized and there was dust and disorder and pushing about. Nevertheless, they represent the spirit of the country and to a vast number of people they brought a release from their daily toil and a vision of something higher. Those vast crowds saw little but they were happy and so the purpose of this ancient festival was fulfilled to a large extent. Looking at this multitude of human beings, I thought of the much vaster multitude of India and how, vaguely and subconsciously, they were struggling to go forward. How should we serve them and help in this march onward? They

were a fine people, given to joy and laughter, in spite of their many burdens. They tended to be disorganized and indisciplined, but the basic strength was there, only if it could be utilized to proper advantage. They are perhaps more amenable to a friendly approach than any other people. They look for a lead. Do we give them the proper lead or do we fail them? What is the value of all our labour and our Five Year Plans and the other great schemes we think and talk about if all these are based on the shifting sand of narrow provincialism or communalism or casteism? Is this an inherent defect in us or are we on our way to conquer these evils?

7 I think that the time has come when we should give deep thought to these matters and try to pull ourselves out of the grooves in which we have got stuck. Perhaps, it is as well that this crisis of linguistic States and the like has come to us at this stage. It may serve to awaken us and make us see the pits and snares that surround us and even have their homes in our inner selves. Ultimately, it is not Five Year Plans that will make us go forward but what we are and what we can do.

8 India's responsibilities abroad tend to increase. That in itself is evidence of our standing in the world. There has been talk of our joining a Commission for the Sudan, but a curious position has arisen here. We have been invited by the Egyptian Government to be a member of the Commission.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the other Power concerned, namely the United Kingdom, has told us quite clearly that they are not inviting us at present. Unless these two condominium Powers both invite us, we cannot function. We have thus been put in a somewhat embarrassing position. It appears that the United Kingdom is not at all eager to have the Commission or the elections in the Sudan, according to the agreement arrived at between the U.K. and

2. On 22 August, the Sudanese Parliament, and on 21 October, the Egyptian Government, invited India to be a member of the International Commission to supervise elections in Sudan for self government.

Egypt a year or two ago.<sup>3</sup> There is no provision in that agreement for a difference of opinion on this point between the two condominium Powers.

9. In the Middle East, there was another critical situation which has somewhat toned down now, though basically it continues. This arose from the report that Egypt was purchasing arms from the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. For a long time past, Egypt tried to purchase arms from the U.K., the U.S.A., and France. They were unable to obtain any. Then they approached the Soviet Union which expressed its willingness to sell. As soon as this was known, there was an uproar in the U.K. and the U.S.A. and great pressure was brought to bear upon Egypt to give up this deal.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the threat of a blockade was suggested. Colonel Nasser, however, took up a strong line and refused to be intimidated. Thereupon, the U.K. and the U.S.A adopted a somewhat softer tone.

10. The conflict between the Arab States and Israel has caused us much concern. Our ties with the Arab States are strong. At the same time, we have no ill will against Israel and we know that some very fine work has been done by the Israel Government in Palestine in developing that arid land. The development of cooperatives there is specially noteworthy. We had hoped that we might be able to play some little part in helping to bring about a settlement, but the passions on both sides are much too strong. Militarily, probably, Israel is stronger than all the Arab States put together. I believe that they have modern equipment in their armed forces. They have a fairly good Air Force. In the last war between Israel and the Arab States, the former proved much the stronger and I doubt if the balance has changed since then. Indeed, it is probable that if there has been a

3. See Vol. 3, pp. 145, 210-211.

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11 In Israel, as elsewhere, there are two groups, one moderately inclined and the other extremist. Lately it has appeared that the extremist group is dominant and during the past many months there were many cases of aggression on the part of Israel. It was rather odd that these petty acts of aggression usually coincided with some attempt of the U.K. and the U.S.A. to exert pressure on Egypt. Egypt, as is well known, adopted an independent policy and refused to join the system of military alliances which the U.K. and the U.S.A. have promoted in the Middle Eastern countries. This was not pleasing to these Great Powers because it went against their basic policy there.

12 For a long time past, the greater part of these Western Asian countries was under the political and economic influence of the United Kingdom. In Syria and Lebanon, the French cultural influence was predominant but the French Power had to withdraw. Later, the Americans came into the picture and there was some tension between them and the U.K. That tension to some extent remains because the U.K. did not like this fresh incursion into their chosen field. But, on the whole, they pulled together and have brought about this system of alliances from Turkey to Pakistan. Egypt and Saudi Arabia have opposed these alliances and now Syria has joined them too.<sup>5</sup> This is naturally disliked by the U.K. and the U.S.A. and now the fact that the Soviet Government has come into the picture by supplying arms is a matter for deep concern to them.

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mere fact that the smaller countries of the world should stand up against some of the big countries and the vested interests in colonies was itself significant and has displeased these Great Powers.

14. The United Nations are now considering in the Political Committee the formation of an International Atomic Energy Agency.<sup>b</sup> This has again indirectly raised the question of the colonial Powers versus the smaller countries. The proposal of the Big Powers is to have this as a specialized Agency out of the United Nation's direct jurisdiction; also for the control to remain in the hands of selected Powers which include not only the Big Powers advanced in atomic energy research but also some countries which have colonial territories possessing uranium. Among the latter is even little Portugal because of its African territories. India has taken a lead in this matter and pointed out that such an arrangement would be very harmful to the Asian, African and many other countries. It would mean the control of this tremendous power by a few big countries, including colonial Powers. It would mean in effect the domination of these Big Powers over the rest of the world. It must be realized that atomic energy may well be the greatest force of the future and it is important, therefore, as to who controls it. India has urged that the new Agency should be directly associated with the U.N. and that some Asian countries should be in it right from the beginning. We attach great importance to this and we have even stated that unless some such broad basis is agreed to, we might have to keep away from such an organization.

6. The ninth session of the U.N. General Assembly (21 September to 17 December 1954) had recommended the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency for development and dissemination of knowledge and information relating to atomic energy for peaceful purposes. On 19 October 1955, a preliminary draft statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency was presented to the Political Committee by Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, Britain and the United States.

15 The growth of the Western European countries and Northern America was directly due to the Industrial Revolution and the possession of coal and iron ore. This gave them a dominating position in the world. World empires were built up in the nineteenth century on the basis of this industrial growth and the new imperialism came into being. This meant cheap raw materials from the colonies and protected markets for industrial goods in those colonies.

16 Just as steam and electricity and the growth of technology gave this great push to the Western countries and added to their strength and wealth enormously, we have now a new source of power of enormous dimensions—atomic energy. If the raw materials used for the production of atomic energy as well as the processes and distribution are controlled by a few major Powers, including some colonial countries, this might well give rise to a new imperialism to the detriment of the other countries of the world. In effect, atomic energy might well become the monopoly of a group. The under-developed countries are likely to suffer most from any such development. This question, therefore, is not merely one of theory or prestige but is of vital importance to the countries of Asia and Africa.

17 The most advanced countries in regard to the production of atomic energy are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K., Canada and France. Other countries lag behind. Among these other countries, however, India has done rather well and we have laid the foundations for more rapid progress in the future. One atomic reactor plant is being constructed, another is being designed,<sup>7</sup> and a third is thought of. We have some fine scientists at the top, headed by Dr. Homi Bhabha, and a group of bright young men and women working in our various research centres. Some of these have received training abroad and others are being sent

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17. The most advanced countries in regard to the production of atomic energy are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K., Canada and France. Other countries lag behind. Among these other countries, however, India has done rather well and we have laid the foundations for more rapid progress in the future. One atomic reactor plant is being constructed, another is being designed,<sup>7</sup> and a third is thought of. We have some fine scientists at the top, headed by Dr. Homi Bhabha, and a group of bright young men and women working in our various research centres. Some of these have received training abroad and others are being sent

<sup>7</sup> On 4 August 1956, India's first atomic reactor Apsara started operating at Trombay, near Bombay, and Zerlina, the second reactor, went into operation at Trombay on 14 January 1961. Both reactors were built entirely by the Indian scientists and the en-

there for this purpose. In the reactors that we are putting up, we propose to give facilities for training for people from other countries of Asia.

18. We have had a visit recently from U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma.<sup>8</sup> He is always a welcome guest. As you know, we have advanced a loan of twenty crores of rupees to the Burmese Government.<sup>9</sup> It was not easy for us to do so but we were anxious to help Burma in her difficult economic situation.

19. We have also had the Earl of Home, the Commonwealth Secretary of the United Kingdom<sup>10</sup> and today Vice-President Hatta<sup>11</sup> of Indonesia arrived in Delhi. He is a very old friend of mine. We met for the first time in Brussels in 1927 and we kept in touch with each other to some extent afterwards. I remember his coming to Delhi at the beginning of 1947. He came to India incognito then and I took him to meet Gandhiji. He came for a second time in 1949 and this is his third visit. In Indonesia, the elections have resulted in a curious situation. The final figures are not known yet but it is clear that the four major parties that have emerged are: (1) the Nationalist Party, (2) the Masjumi Party, the moderate Moslem Party with socialist leanings, (3) the more extreme Moslem Party, and (4) the Communists. Only a coalition government is possible, probably between the first two.<sup>12</sup>

8. From 16 to 18 October 1955.

9. The Indo-Burmese Loan Agreement was signed at New Delhi on 17 October 1955.

10. On 20-21 October 1955.

11. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 222

12. Ali Sastroam djojo the leader of the Nationalist Party formed on 20 March a coalition Government of the Masjumi the United Moslem Party the Islamic Party the Christian Party and the Catholic Party

20. Other important visitors are coming in November, especially Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev. They will be visiting many parts of India during their brief stay. I hope that the welcome that we give them will not only be warm but disciplined.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
26 November, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a full month. I am very sorry for this lapse on my part, as I feel that I should be regular in sending my forthightly letters to you and keeping in touch with you. But circumstances have been too strong for me and I have been unable to find the time or to develop the mood for writing this letter. I am writing now in between two visits of eminent guests from abroad. The Soviet leaders have gone from Delhi and at present touring in West and South India.<sup>1</sup> Tomorrow the King of Saudi Arabia<sup>2</sup> arrives here with a large retinue<sup>3</sup>

2. Two major events have overshadowed other happenings during the last two weeks. These are the discussions on the Report of the States Reorganization Commission and the extraordinary happenings connected therewith.<sup>4</sup> The second matter is the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. In a sense, perhaps, it was as well that the Soviet leaders came at this particular juncture and their visit diverted attention to

1. From 25 to 28 November 1955.

2. Abdul-Aziz Saud For b fn. see Vol. 3, p 534

3. The King arrived in India on 27 November on a fortnight's visit

4. The Congress Working Committee meeting in New Delhi on 8 and 9 November, recommended the creation of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay city State with the proviso that the latter could be merged with Maharashtra if after five years a two-thirds majority of the people living in Bombay opted for it. But the Maharashtra Congress Executive declared on 16 November that the State of Maharashtra without the city of Bombay could not be conceived and urged reconsideration of the issue by the Congress Working Committee

some extent at least from the fierce controversies on the S.R.C. Report.

3 I do not wish to write to you much on this occasion about the S.R.C. Report. But I cannot help expressing my deep distress, in which you no doubt share, at the occurrences in Bombay<sup>5</sup> and Rewa.<sup>6</sup> In a sense, the Vindhya Pradesh occurrences, though very bad, have no great significance. A group of persons misbehaved very badly. The significance of this is that regular parties, as for instance the Praja Socialist Party of Vindhya Pradesh, were directly responsible for this. It is astonishing that any organized party should take to this kind of hooliganism. What is still more painful is that this kind of thing is not condemned by the leaders and other members of that party clearly and unequivocally. Vindhya Pradesh is a politically backward area and it is for this reason that I do not attach too much importance to what happened there. But the important aspect of it is the tolerance anywhere in India and by anyone of this kind of disgraceful behaviour.

4 The Bombay happenings were far more serious because they were on a mass scale. There is little doubt that a large number of provocative speeches previously led to what happened. We are told that among those who took a leading part in these disturbances in Bombay were members of the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party. This raises a vital issue for us and for the country. Are we to conduct our political discussions by promoting some kind of a party civil

5 On 18 November the police in Bombay clashed with the demonstrators who were demanding merger of Bombay city with Maharashtra, and on 20 November a Congress meeting at Bombay addressed by the Chief Minister was disturbed when brickbats were hurled at the dais. On the 23rd, buses and trams were set on fire and some police posts attacked, and this led to police firing in which 12 persons were killed and 266 injured.

6 On 23 November, a crowd at Rewa breaking into the Assembly Hall during discussion of the States Reorganization Committee's Report assaulted the Congress party members and caused damage to Government property

war? For one of our foremost cities like Bombay to have to put up with this is a matter of the gravest concern. I am worried first of all that any person should indulge in this kind of behaviour; secondly that organized parties should encourage it; thirdly that industrial labour and students should be dragged into it; fourthly that there should not be widespread and strong condemnation of it from all sides. Of course, many people have condemned it, but many others who should have done so have remained strangely silent.

5 I repeat that this has nothing to do with the merits of any problem. Normally, a controversial issue, however important, is decided in a democracy after full discussion by some kind of a majority opinion through representative processes. To try to decide it in the streets by bludgeoning people and committing arson is very far from any reasoning or democratic process. A majority should not require this. It is a minority that might feel tempted to indulge in it in order to prevent the majority's viewpoint prevailing. That is a near approach to fascist methods of dealing with problems. Obviously, no Government can be coerced by such methods. Indeed the Government will cease to function if it tolerated such methods and one success of this behaviour would lead to its being followed in many other places. Our country would be reduced not only to chaos but to chaos of the lowest and most vulgar type.

6 I am continually surprised at the contradictions in our ideals and professions and in our practice. Democracy, of course, is entirely opposed to this type of hooligan action. But we base ourselves on something more than democracy which we claim to be a special virtue of our people. We talk of *Ahimsa* and non-violence which are certainly not negative virtues, but have a very positive element in them. We talk of tolerance which can only mean tolerating viewpoints other than our own. I have just been reading an

article by the famous violinist, Yehudi Menuhin,<sup>7</sup> who visited India some years ago.<sup>8</sup> In the course of his long article, he says:-

But when I myself think of India, I think of a quality specifically Indian which in my imagination holds something of the innocence of the fabled and symbolic Garden of Eden.

To me India means the villages, the noble bearing of their people, the aesthetic harmony of their life; I think of Gandhi, of Buddha, of the temples, of gentleness combined with power, or patience matched by persistence, of innocence allied to wisdom, and of the luxuriance of life from the oxen and the monkeys to the flame trees and the mangoes; I think of the innate dignity and tolerance of the Hindu and his tradition.

The capacity of experiencing the full depth and breadth of life's pleasures and pains without losing a nobler resignation, of knowing intimately the exalted satisfaction of creation, while remaining deeply humble, are characteristics peculiar to these villages.

7 Yehudi Menuhin goes on in this strain. Perhaps, he would not write thus if he knew India a little better. Nevertheless, I think that there is some truth in what he says, but at the same time there is another picture which is far from pleasant; and it is this picture that we saw during the recent Bombay riots. Apart from violence, there was no decency or dignity about it. It was an attempt to introduce the law of the jungle. Sometime we see something of this type on a smaller scale when students misbehave *en masse*.

8 In the larger scheme of things, it is a matter of little consequence to me whether the city of Bombay is attached to this State or that or remains a separate entity but it is a

matter of the greatest consequence to all of us as to how we proceed about this business and whether we can come to decisions peacefully and abide by them. Almost every decision fails to please everybody. Are we, therefore, to rebel against that decision and try to upset the decision throwing stones at each other? In a democracy a wrong decision can be right later provided the majority are won over to that view.

9. Some authority has to take a final decision. In our case it is Parliament, guided by the Government of the day. In view, however, of conflicting opinions and the passions accompanying them, the Congress Working Committee has tried to achieve, by numerous talks and discussions, as great a measure of agreement as possible. It may fail, in some cases, in achieving that agreement. The Government, as such, cannot deal informally with various groups, and hence the approach of the Congress Working Committee becomes necessary and helpful. The final decision, of course, rests with Parliament.

10. It serves little purpose for people to say now that we did wrong in raising this whole question of reorganization. I do not think that there was any escape from this and anyhow it has been done. Now that we face this problem in this present context, we cannot run away from it and we shall have to deal with it with such wisdom and courage as we possess. In no event, can we submit to coercion backed by violence.

11. The visit of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to India has turned out to be an event of the first importance in world affairs. Accidentally, it coincided with a meeting at Baghdad<sup>9</sup> of some countries which are now referred to as the Baghdad Powers. These countries are Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. They have now set up formally what they call M.E.D.O. (Middle East Defence Organization). The United States, though not thus far a member of this Organization, is closely associated with it

<sup>9</sup> The first meeting of the Council of the Baghdad Pact was held on 21 and 22 November under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Iraq Nuri el Said.

and their observers attended the Baghdad meeting. At this meeting, a Permanent Council of the Baghdad Pact was set up. Also an Economic Commission and some kind of a military structure on the N.A.T.O. pattern. An interesting feature is that the United Kingdom offered atomic assistance to the other countries of the Baghdad Pact. Another significant feature is their disapproval of what is called neutralism, which they consider as a danger to the homogeneity of Western Asia.

12. The tremendous publicity given in India and abroad to the visit the Soviet leaders here has overshadowed this Baghdad Pact. Apart from this publicity, the fact of the visit is as well as the speeches delivered by Mr. Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev have highlighted a point of view which is directly opposed to that of the Baghdad Pact.<sup>10</sup> To us in India, this Baghdad Pact is of particular significance. It is something in direct opposition to our policy of non-alignment. The fact that Pakistan is a member of it brings this Organization directly to India's doorstep. Both the U.K. and Pakistan are members of the Commonwealth. We may for the moment leave Pakistan out of consideration because of its hostility to India. But the fact that the U.K. has formally aligned itself to this Pact and to Pakistan comes perilously near to the United Kingdom taking an unfriendly step towards India. In fact, it associates itself in a military alliance with a country (Pakistan) which is hostile to India. All this raises many difficult problems and is likely to affect our relations with the U.K. Indeed, we have pointed this out to the U.K. Government.

13. It is possible that this M.E.D.O., like S.E.A.T.O., has more bark in it than bite. It may be just a move in the cold war. But the possibilities it opens out for trouble both in Western Asia and in relation to India are considerable and we cannot ignore them.

<sup>10</sup> For example on 21 November 1955 Bulganin praised India's policy of opposing military pacts

14 What I have said about the United Kingdom applies in a somewhat lesser measure to the U.S.A., which is closely associated to this Pact, though not a member of it.

15 You will remember that soon after the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, the first meeting took place to start a South East Defence Organization.<sup>11</sup> That was singularly ill-timed. It did not result in strengthening the defence of the countries participating in it. Its chief result was to antagonize and irritate other countries chiefly China, and to come in the way of the process of lessening tensions which the Geneva Conference had started. This M.E.D.O again was singularly ill-timed after so much talk on the "Geneva spirit" which resulted from a co-called Summit Conference. It almost appears that an attempt is made to balance every forward step taken by one or even two steps back. Let us examine these attempts at forming a Middle Eastern Defence Organization by the Western Powers and their consequences. The object, presumably, was to give notice to the Soviet Union that this area was protected and outside its scope or designs. Also, to strengthen this area against the Soviet. The actual result has been to split up the Arab countries and thus weaken them. Further, attempts to coerce Egypt have failed and Egypt has actually gone some way towards cooperating, at least in trade matters with the Communist countries. The sale of Czech arms to Egypt led to a big outcry in the Western nations.<sup>12</sup> But Colonel Nasser persists in it. His object was not merely to get the arms but even more so to give notice to the Western countries that he would not submit to their pressure tactics. He won in this contest. Saudi Arabia stands by him and so does, more or less, Syria. The other Arab countries, in spite of the Baghdad Pact, have been made to realize that Egypt can stand up to pressure tactics. In a sense, Egypt has taken a lead in the Arab world and that lead is not in line with the policies of the Western countries. Thus, the result of the Western countries

11 See Vol 3 p 236

12 See *ante* pp 284 and 290

trying to woo and control the countries of the Middle East has led to a contrary result and actually the position of the Western countries in this area is now much weaker than it was. This is a significant example of wrong strategy and false assumptions. For the first time the Soviet Union and its allied countries are appearing in the Middle Eastern scene, which was thus far considered a safe preserve of the Western countries. The Baghdad Pact makes no difference to this except to irritate and aggravate these disruptive tendencies.

16. The United States and the United Kingdom continue to think far too much in terms of military power and bases. They refer frequently to developing a "position of strength." They forget that strength does not come from military power only and there are perhaps more important factors to it. They forget also that their military power is not so overwhelming as to frighten some other countries.

17. Another aspect of this problem, both in the Middle East and in South East Asia, should be borne in mind. Almost everywhere, the U.K. and the U.S.A. have aligned themselves to feudal and highly reactionary regimes, which would probably topple over but for foreign help. The people of these countries naturally do not like these feudal regimes and like still less the foreign powers supporting them. Hence the Western countries purchase their military positions or bases at a heavy price.

18. Two or three days ago, a newspaper report appeared to the effect that Pakistan had asked for more arms from the U.S.A. Also, that the U.S.A. was spending a large sum of money in improving the airfields and other bases in Pakistan and for this purpose large numbers of U.S technicians were going to Pakistan. It seems to me quite extraordinary how the U.S.A. and the U.K. ignore the facts of life in Asia at present and place their reliance on these imposed bases and military pacts.

19. The strategy of the cold war gave some strength in Europe to the Western countries; but it does not seem to work that way now even in Europe. In Asia it works to their disadvantage and the initiative appears to lie with the Soviet

Union and China. By simply staying put, the Soviet Union is quite happy.

20 This applies to the German question. Various developments in Europe strengthened the Western nations *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union which protested in vain. Being unable to prevent West Germany from joining the N.A.T.O. alliance, the Soviet Union adapted its policy to the new circumstances and made it clear that there would be no union of West and East Germany unless West Germany left N.A.T.O. The Western Powers, of course, cannot agree to this demand and so there is a complete deadlock, as was evidenced at the recent Foreign Ministers' meeting in Geneva.<sup>13</sup> The Soviet Union does not lose anything by this deadlock. On the other hand, the Western countries, after a period of success, have suddenly found a blank wall in front of them and they do not know how to get over it. In Germany itself all kinds of new forces are working.

21 The Conference of Foreign Ministers, held recently in Geneva, was a complete failure. And yet, in spite of this, one need not take too alarmist a view about the European or the world situation. Probably, the language of the cold war will again appear; indeed, it has appeared, but nobody thinks of actual war now.

22. You must have read reports of the speeches delivered by Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev in India. They have been forthright speeches, often containing attacks on U.S.

<sup>13</sup> See *ante*, p. 283

policies.<sup>14</sup> I was a little surprised to hear these speeches before Members of Parliament here.<sup>15</sup> The surprise was not due to the content of the speech, but rather to the fact that they chose to deliver such speeches in India. For our part, we do not encourage controversial utterances of this kind by foreigners in India. At the same time, if our guests wish to speak in that strain, we cannot do anything about it. But, this apart, there was fair amount of sound reasoning in what Bulganin and Khrushchev said, though undoubtedly, in some places, it was one-sided. We have had some talks with them in private and we shall continue with them on their return to Delhi. These talks consisted chiefly in the Soviet leaders explaining their approach to various world problems. We did not say much to them at this stage. There is nothing very secret about their approach because they have repeated it in public. But I did get the impression of confidence and strength from their talks. Also, their desire for peace, though that desire might not be expressed in very peaceful terms.

23 Mr. Dulles visited Yugoslavia recently.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that, after taking up a strong line against Yugoslavia, the U.S. have climbed down somewhat and they have again promised Yugoslavia full aid. Yugoslavia continues her independent policy. Meanwhile, the Balkan Alliance has considerably weakened, partly because of

14. In their speeches, Bulganin and Khrushchev attacked the policy of military pacts and blocs in South East and West Asia. In a speech at Bombay on 24 November, Khrushchev accused the Western Powers, especially Britain, of sending "Hitler's divisions to invade Russia."

15. Addressing the Members of Parliament on 21 November, Bulganin said that "on the question of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons the Western Powers are going backward. . . and by their new proposals are setting the problem of disarmament back by at least ten years." He said the military groupings in Europe and N.A.T.O.'s "selective" and "aggressive" character had caused concern all over the world. He accused the Western Powers of not allowing the people of Germany to exercise their choice to settle the C---- problem.

16. Dulles met Marshal Tito at Belgrade on 6 November 1955.

Yugoslavia's attitude and partly because of the hostility between Greece and Turkey over the question of Cyprus.<sup>17</sup>

24 Various talks are going on now between some of our officials and Soviet officials about technical aid. There is no question of our receiving free aid from the Soviet Union, but we may obtain some equipment or machines from them as well as get our people trained. These talks are still in their preliminary stages at present.<sup>18</sup>

25 U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, came here on his way back from the Soviet Union. We had talks and, as usual, we found ourselves in broad agreement.

26 I have referred above to the Baghdad Pact and to the fact that in so many of these countries the existing regime are frankly reactionary and feudal. The aid that goes to them is largely spent on the military machine or it goes into the pockets of a few rich people. The economic condition of the country does not improve at all. Even in a European country like Italy, it is instructive to see how this aid has worked. I understand that since the war the United States of America have given vast sums of money in aid to the Italian Government. This aid amounts to over 1,000 crores of rupees. Production has gone up in Italy and Rome and some of the bigger cities are full of expensive cars and luxury articles. But the condition of the peasantry, especially in

17. Greece supported the movement for the union of Greece with Cyprus, but Turkey maintained that Cyprus should be restored to her as the British had taken it from her in 1878. Against the background of anti-Greek riots in Istanbul and Ismur on 6 September 1955 and rejection by the Greek Government of the British proposals for a settlement, the U.S. Government requested Greece on 15 September to agree to a postponement of the Cyprus debate in the U.N. General Assembly so as to allow tension to subside.

18. The communique issued on 13 December from New Delhi said that in exchange for substantial quantities of raw materials and manufactured goods, India would obtain one million tons of steel and equipment for oil processing and mining in the next three years beginning from 1956. The two countries also expressed their desire to i the vol of b' lateral trade

South Italy, is deplorable. Hardly any part of the aid has trickled down to the masses of the people. Sometime ago there was agrarian trouble in South Italy and, oddly enough, Roman Catholic priests joined with the Communists in advising the peasantry to take forcible possession of the land. The Italian Government then moved a little and produced some land reforms which were very ineffective.

27 If this has been the position in a country like Italy, one can very well imagine the state of affairs in some of the countries of West Asia. We have recently had a report about Iran from an officer we sent there in connection with community projects work. He says that the land system there is feudal and very big landlords control the politics of the country. It is not possible to have any community development so long as this land system remains as it is. The Shah of Iran himself owns vast areas of land. He is, I believe, somewhat liberal-minded and recently he gave a small part of his land to the peasants. The other big landlords objected to this strongly as, according to them, this set a bad example. Practically speaking, some of these West Asian Governments have no strong foundations, political or economic. They carry on because their governing structure is helped and protected by foreign powers. The people generally are unhappy and become hostile to these foreign powers which try to perpetuate a social structure which is oppressive.

28 I have referred to the case of Italy, where production has undoubtedly gone up and yet has brought little relief to the people generally. Only the upper layers of the population were benefited and no kind of social change has taken place. This brings out clearly how mere increase of production is not enough. It has to be accompanied by equitable distribution and by basic social changes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**39**

New Delhi  
21 December, 1955

I am sending you a note I have written on the recent visit of the Soviet leaders to India. I am afraid it is rather a long note and not very concise, but I thought it would be better for me to let you have my impressions in some detail. I shall be grateful if you will take particular care to keep this secret.

Jawaharlal Nehru

*Enclosure\**

Mr Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev spent about nineteen days in India.<sup>1</sup> Their visit was divided up into two parts, thirteen days to begin with, then six days in Burma and then back again to India and six days here. During this period, they had opportunities to see many parts of India and to visit many of our new ventures—river valley schemes, big plants for fertilizers and making locomotive engines, national laboratories, agricultural farms, community projects, etc. Generally speaking, their time was taken up more by seeing the new developments in India and not so much by ancient monuments. They met many leading personalities in India and were greeted by vast crowds everywhere. The welcome to them was sponsored by the Central and State Governments, and elaborate arrangements were made. There is no doubt, however, that the public response, which was tremendous, was something much more than any Government could organize. The co-operation of the Government and the people produced a mighty welcome everywhere.

2. This welcome was partly due to the fact that the Prime Minister had been given a cordial and popular welcome in the Soviet Union, and millions in India had seen the cinema films showing this welcome. There was a desire to demonstrate to the Soviet visitors that we could do something better in this respect. Further, there was naturally a curiosity to see the top leaders of a country which was playing such a dominant role in world politics and which had emerged from a great revolution and its continuing troubles afterwards. There was also a certain sympathy among the common people with the Soviet Union as it was believed that the Soviet Union had raised the status of the common man. In addition to all this there was the great

publicity in our newspapers, as well as in newspapers of other countries, to the Soviet tour as it progressed. This had a certain snow-balling effect, and people's interest was roused more and more.

3. In foreign countries, this tour was followed with great and anxious interest because of its political aspect and the possible consequences that might flow from it. Many foreign correspondents accompanied the Soviet leaders during their tour in India and sent long accounts to their newspapers.

4. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the visit of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to India became an event of first-class world importance. What has been the effect of this visit in India, in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere in the world? Undoubtedly, it has had a powerful effect, though it is difficult to measure this. The effect in India was largely a psychological one of increasing friendly feelings between India and the Soviet Union. Partly also, it has given an impetus to our trade and like contacts. In the political field, it has not produced any marked effect on our general policy, though, in practice, relations will be much closer and economic contacts will increase. So far as India's policy of non-involvement is concerned, there has been and will be no change, and the fears of Western countries in this respect have no foundations. But it may be true that the strong and angry reaction in certain Western countries may itself tend to make India more friendly to the Soviet Union.

5. The effect in the Soviet Union is even more difficult to judge, but it may be said with some confidence that greater knowledge of India as she is, both among the leaders of the Soviet Union and the people, has had a considerable effect on their thinking. Both Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev repeated on numerous occasions that they had to revise their opinion about India completely because of their visit. They said that neither they nor their people knew much about her and this visit had opened their eyes to actual conditions in this country. They were obviously impressed by many things that we had done and by the general strength and

popularity of our Government. The enthusiasm of the public and the discipline of vast crowds also impressed them. Many of the entourage repeatedly said that they had no conception of the popularity of the Prime Minister with the public till they had seen it with their own eyes. Broadly speaking, it can be said that they were convinced that India was a growing concern, marching ahead, and that therefore India's friendship was something worthwhile. This opening out of a big window towards India and Burma must necessarily have a considerable effect in imperceptibly moulding Soviet opinion both at the top and among the people. It helps them to come out of their shell and not feel so isolated as they were. They realize that a country like India, which is not Communist and which is at the same time not anti-Communist, has an important place in the world and is worth wooing.

6. In the Western countries, the initial reactions were one of anger and resentment<sup>2</sup> and a feeling that India was falling into the lap of Soviet communism. Gradually, this feeling will no doubt be controlled and a somewhat more realistic view of the situation taken. But it is true that politicians and others in the Western countries have been completely shaken up by this visit of the Soviet leaders to India and their reception here, and attempts are being made to make a fresh appraisal of the situation. On the one hand, there is the angry reaction of considering India as lined up with the enemy and therefore treating her as such. On the other, there is a feeling that India being even more important than they thought, far greater efforts should be made to win her on their side. Probably, after a while, some middle opinion between these two extremes will stabilize itself.

2. Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister of Britain, described in the House of Commons on 12 December the statements of the Soviet leaders in India as "fantastic."

7. The one broad result of this visit has been, both among those who like it and those who dislike it, to raise India's prestige and status in the world. It is realized more than ever that India makes a difference and cannot be ignored. The Russians, being far more understanding and cleverer than the Western diplomats, accept this fact and play it up. European and American diplomats find it much more difficult to adapt themselves to changed circumstances. Their basic thinking is still governed to some extent by their previous relationship with Asian countries. In America, the great access to their financial and military strength since the War, has made them look down on almost every country, friend or foe, and they have developed a habit of irritating others by their overbearing attitudes. In the United Kingdom, there are a large number of retired administrators and others from India and the colonies, and they affect public opinion, even though the Government there is wiser. Also, the continuing colonies of England and France mould opinion there and create a measure of hostility to a country like India which talks about anti-colonialism. Canada, which is singularly free from this colonial bias as well as from the extreme attitudes of the United States, usually takes a much more sensible view of the situation, even though, as a country, it is rather conservative. The Soviet Union has the great advantage of not coming into conflict over any issue of the old colonial type and therefore can denounce colonialism without any injury to itself.

8. In order to understand the reactions to the Soviet visit to India, one has to keep in mind certain recent events in the international sphere, which have already conditioned both the Soviet Union and the Western countries. The so-called Summit Conference at Geneva<sup>3</sup> had resulted in creating, for the first time since the World War, a more friendly atmosphere. The big problems remained unsolved but, at any rate, tension was much less, and there was a general

3. The Conference of the Heads of the Governments of U.S., U.K., France and USSR was held in Geneva from 19 to 28 July 1955.

belief that war had to be ruled out. The cold war was almost suspended and the language of statesmen both in the Western countries and in the Soviet Union became milder in tone. During a period before and after the Summit Conference, the Soviet Union took a number of steps which were welcomed and which indicated a marked change in Soviet policy. The vital problem of Germany was not affected by all that had happened, but a certain atmosphere was created all over the world which was widely appreciated. The Western Powers probably thought that this would lead to a less rigid attitude on the part of the Soviet Union in regard to German unification.

9 It soon appeared, however, that on the question of Germany, both sides were as rigid as ever, and there was no meeting ground. Indeed, this had been clear for a long time, and I remember Marshal Tito telling me that there was no possibility for a long time to come for a solution of the German problem. This stalemate in Germany was more to the disadvantage of the Western Powers than of the Soviet Union. On the whole, it suited the Soviet Union to allow matters to rest where they were, and they had no incentive to settle that problem at the expense of something else. Thus, the Western Powers were put in a difficult position because they did not like the stalemate and did not know how to end it, war having been ruled out. This led to resentment in the West.

10 The Foreign Ministers' Conference<sup>4</sup> at Geneva met in this background. Even before it began, it was clear that it could not result in any settlement. During the Conference, the old atmosphere of the Summit meeting faded away, and we saw almost a repetition of the cold war approaches. It was not quite like the old conferences because much had happened in between.

4. It met from 27 October to 16 November 1955 to discuss (1) European security and German reunification, (2) disarmament, and (3) contacts between East and West.

11. Immediately after that Conference, charges and counter-charges were flung at each other, and each party was accused of obstruction and even of sabotage.<sup>5</sup> The Baghdad Pact followed. There was nothing new in this because the Middle East alliances had grown gradually in the course of a year. Nevertheless, the formal meeting in Baghdad with the U.K. as a party to the Pact and the U.S.A. offering to cooperate both in the economic and the military fields, was a disturbing factor. We, in India, disliked it and gave expression to our dislike.<sup>6</sup> We did so both on general grounds of our dislike of military alliances of this kind and also because it affected us directly. Two Commonwealth countries, the U.K. and Pakistan, were partners of this Pact which was definitely aimed against the Soviet Union. Thus, the area of cold war and conflict came right up to our borders. All the reasons that had impelled us to criticize the previous American aid to Pakistan were applicable to the Baghdad Pact in a much stronger measure. Shri Krishna Menon, speaking in the United Nations, referred to the "encirclement" of India by the S.E.A.T.O. on one side and the Baghdad Pact on the other.<sup>7</sup>

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language on either side for some time, the old cold war could not return.

15. The popular welcomes that they received and the general friendly atmosphere in which they functioned here, made them relax, and their talks, therefore, were remarkably frank and uninhibited. It was probably because of this that Mr. Khrushchev, who is naturally rather blunt and outspoken, used strong language on some occasions against the U.K. and the U.S.A. Mr. Bulganin was somewhat more restrained. Their references to Goa<sup>11</sup> and to Kashmir<sup>12</sup> were made without any previous hint to us. So far as we are concerned, these references were welcome, and we have no complaint in regard to them. I do not understand why it has been said by some people that we were put out by these references to Goa and Kashmir. What did put us out somewhat was Mr. Khrushchev's denunciation of England or the U.S.A. and his bringing in cold war language into his speeches in India. It is true that this was the normal language they had used in the past, as it was more or less the language that people had used against them in the U.S.A and in England, but it did not seem to us appropriate that they should use that type of language in India.

16. Mr. Dulles' joint statement<sup>13</sup> made together with the

11 On 28 November 1955, Bulganin, calling the existence of Portuguese colony of Goa as "a shame to civilized people," said that 'there is no justification for the continued existence of the Portuguese colony of Goa. The sympathies of the Soviet people are always on the side of those fighting colonialism'

12. On 9 December 1955, Bulganin referred to Kashmir as "this northern part of India" and its inhabitants as "part of the Indian people. The next day, Khrushchev described Kashmir as a part of India and said 'the people of Jammu and Kashmir. . . want to work for the well-being of their beloved country, the Republic of India.'

13 In a joint statement on 2 December 1955, Dulles and Cunha criticized the "statements attributed to the Soviet leaders. . . concerning the Portuguese provinces in the Far East" and accused the Soviet leaders of attempting to foment hatred between the East and West.

Portuguese Foreign Minister,<sup>14</sup> brought out immediately the vast difference in the two approaches, much to the disadvantage of Mr. Dulles. It has roused anger in India because we feel deeply over the Goa question.<sup>15</sup> Mr. Dulles' subsequent explanation<sup>16</sup> has, if anything, worsened matters. We have sent to the U.S. Government a note on this subject and we await a reply.

17 The day before the Soviet leaders' departure from India, I referred to these denunciatory statements of theirs and pointed out politely that, in our opinion, this approach did no good at all and merely created conflict and anger, sometimes even in the minds of those who are friends. Mr Khrushchev appeared to recognize to some extent the validity of what I had said, though he justified his language because of what was being said in the U.K. and the U.S.A. He had to say something in reply, chiefly for the sake of his own people in the Soviet Union. There was something in that because in the circumstances then existing, it was not easy for two topmost personalities of the Soviet Union to be silent for three or four weeks. But, as I pointed out to him, it seemed to us unnecessary to denounce anybody in explaining one's point of view. In any event, that was not our way of doing things. In particular, we avoided referring to the past. I mentioned in this connection to our relations

14. Paulo A V. Cunha (1908-1976). Portuguese professor of law and politician; Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1950-58

15. For example, at a public meeting in Bombay on 11 December 1955, a demand was made that Government should protest against Dulles statement on Goa which amounted to "U.S interference" in the affairs of other countries besides lending "veiled support to colonialism in the Far East."

16. At a press conference on 6 December 1955, Dulles clarified that the joint statement had taken no position on the merits of the Goa question, but had expressed the mutual concern of the U.S.A. and Portugal at the Soviet leaders' attempts to "whip up prejudice and hate in a situation that needs to be dealt with in a spirit of calm." Asked whether he considered Goa a province of Portugal, Dulles replied "as far as I know all the world regards it as a Portuguese province. It has been Portuguese for about 400 years"

with the British Government and people. We had generations of conflict with them and angry passions had been roused. But, after independence, we made friends and we do not refer to this past history. I also mentioned that we felt very strongly about what was happening in East Africa and in North Africa. We did not hide our opinions, but we avoided denouncing England or France because we felt that would yield no result and would merely embitter relations.

18 Mr. Khrushchev, I think, recognized that there was some force in my argument but, of course, he could not change his own nature or his past background. He reminded me of how, after their revolution and for years afterwards, every attempt was made to crush them by the Western Powers as well as Japan. They were treated as outcasts and as wild animals to be exterminated. They fought with their backs to the wall and gradually succeeded in establishing themselves. They could never forget this past history. They knew the devious ways of these Western diplomats and they were not going to be taken in by them, etc. etc.

19 The fact remains, however, that they were influenced by what I had said. That evening, in the course of his speech at a dinner, Mr. Khrushchev said many things which were very pertinent. In particular, he said that they did not wish that they should say or do anything which might come in the way of our good relations with other countries.<sup>17</sup>

20 In the course of our talks, I mentioned the role of the Communist Parties in India and like countries. I said that the Communist Party of India was not strong and its leaders were not very intelligent. We were not worried by their activities here, but what worried me was the effect of those activities on Indo-Soviet relations. It was widely believed

17. Khrushchev said on 13 December that in their speeches against colonialism "there is nothing that could instigate one people against another. They should be understood as speeches against colonial plunder and the colonial order. If such speeches do not please some, that is a question of their conscience. We do not want to embroil anybody with the U.S.A. and Britain and we ourselves do not want to quarrel with them. We speak of colonialism as a historical fact."

that the Communist Party here and elsewhere received their directions from Moscow. Indeed, the behaviour of the Communist Party leaders in India supported this. They rushed to Moscow repeatedly for directions and came back and said, on the authority of Moscow, what should be done. They appeared to be supplied with large funds, although their sources of income in India were limited. Recently, they had bought two valuable properties in India. Some years ago, they led an insurrection in Telengana<sup>18</sup> in Hyderabad State, which ultimately we put down. In Burma and Indonesia the local Communist Parties had also supported insurrections. In fact, in Burma it was still continuing to some extent. This naturally brought them into conflict with the strong nationalist sentiments in these countries.

21 I referred to the secret visit of four top-ranking Communist leaders from India in 1951-52. They came back and said that they had got their directions from Mr. Stalin himself. The line they laid down was full opposition to Government and, where possible, petty insurrections. Later they had to give up this line because it did not succeed. When I went to Moscow last June, the welcome I received there confused the Communists of India. One of their leading persons went to Moscow in September of this year to consult people there about future activities. They had often indulged in violent outbreaks and in creating trouble. I had no objection to the principles of communism being preached peacefully, but no Government could tolerate violence. I referred also to the report I had received that the Soviet Embassy as well as the Embassies of some other Communist countries in Delhi engaged their Indian staff after consulting the Communist Party here. All this created conflict with the Government and affected Indo-Soviet relations.

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like the Socialist International, a common platform where representatives could meet from time to time and discuss theoretical questions. In fact, there had been no meeting of the Cominform. It was true that there was sympathy between Communists, and he as a Communist, sympathized with other Communists. It was also true that the Soviet Communist Party being the most experienced was looked up to by other Communists. But it was not true that the Soviet Communist Party interfered or wished to interfere with other parties. He did not even know any Indian Communist leader and he had not met any in Moscow. It was quite likely that these Indian Communists came back from Moscow and exaggerated their own importance in order to impress people. He had not seen any reports from the Communist Party of India. (This was in answer to what I had said that they were misled by such reports).

23. I referred to leading Communist journals, the one that comes out from Bucharest and is supposed to be an organ of the Cominform, called *For a Lasting Peace and For a People's Democracy*, and the *New Times* issued from Moscow. I said that these were supposed to be the authentic voice of the Communist Party and their articles were read carefully by Communists in India to find out what policy they should pursue. These articles often had indicated an appraisal of a situation or a policy which, I thought, was quite wrong. Mr. Khrushchev said that he had not read any of these articles. He could also say that he was not aware of any money being sent from Russia to finance the Communist Party in India. As for employing Communists in Embassies, he agreed that the Russian Ambassador should be very careful in this matter and not give any cause for complaint. I told him that I had no complaint against the Ambassador<sup>19</sup> who was a good man whom we liked.

19. Michael Menshikov (1902-1976). Soviet Ambassador to India, 1953-57 and to U.S.A., 1957-62; Minister of Foreign Affairs of R.S.F.S.R., 1962-69.

24. I had raised this question of communism in connection with the Five Principles and especially about non-interference, political, economic and ideological. We discussed this matter at some length and quite frankly. Mr. Khrushchev assured me that he did not want the Communist Party to attack the Government or me, and they did not wish in any way to direct or encourage Communist Parties in other countries. Naturally they sympathized with them if they preached communism. Communist Parties grew out of objective conditions.

25. We discussed broadly our programme for industrialization. Mr. Khrushchev laid stress on the development of heavy industries. He had in fact repeated this in many places in India. I told him that we attached great importance to the development of heavy industries, including more especially the machine-making industry, because without this we would have to depend upon others too much, and we believed also in aiming at the highest technique. There was the risk, however, that in using such high technique suddenly, we might add to the number of our unemployed. Already we had to deal with this difficult problem of existing unemployment. I gave him a brief account of the British policy in the nineteenth century and later, which destroyed our handicrafts and thus threw people on the land and added to our poverty. I explained to him our present approach to heavy industries on the one hand and cottage industries on the other, at the same time using high techniques but always keeping in mind the problem of employment. Mr. Khrushchev remarked that their point of view had probably been misunderstood. They did not think that there was a conflict between heavy industries and cottage industries. In the first years after the Revolution, they had to support cottage industries which produced articles required by the people in the towns. In India also, articles produced by cottage industries were needed. But he laid stress that where factories were constructed, they should be of the latest type, otherwise we would go in a wrong direction and we would not produce the right type of

technicians. Workers needed for high technical operations should be employed and trained. If, as a result, some workers should remain unemployed, the profit from efficient industries could be used to support other people or to organize village industries.

26 Mr. Bulganin said that the problem which faced India now, came up before them in Russia also during the early stages, and there were all kinds of arguments. In Russia, even now, they had small and village industries which produced goods worth five thousand million roubles.

27 Mr. Khrushchev said that the question of pushing forward heavy industries had to be considered in connection with the political situation. In Russia, they had to concentrate on heavy industries in order to survive. This same policy was being adopted by the other People's Democracies and for the same reason. The Soviet Union was consulted by them, and Russia had advised them not to push forward too fast in this direction. They need not copy the manner of development in the Soviet Union because conditions are different now and the Soviet Union is strong enough to meet any attack. These countries need not, therefore, add to the burdens of the people by too fast development of heavy industries as the Soviet Union had done. China, however, in his opinion, could develop her heavy industries more quickly, and it is for this reason that they were giving a good deal of help to China.

28 In the course of our discussion on the Communist Party's activities, Mr. Khrushchev said that U Nu had the same feeling as the Prime Minister. I had also referred to the case of Burma in this connection. Probably, U Nu had also discussed these activities of the Communist Party with the Soviet leaders. Mr. Khrushchev said that he did not even know before he went to Burma that there were several Communist Parties there. In Russia, they had little information about Communist Parties in other countries.

29 As I have said above, our talks were frank and we discussed even difficult problems without inhibitions. I am sure that these talks did good. In the course of their tour in

India, the Soviet leaders and more especially Mr Khrushchev spoke frankly also about our various development schemes, sometimes praising them, sometimes criticizing some part of them. It was obvious that he had an extensive and intimate knowledge of construction work, factories, mining and even agriculture. The manner of his speaking indicated that he felt more or less at home in our surroundings and could, therefore, discuss matters freely. Some of his suggestions in regard to construction, etc. obviously were worthy of consideration. Both he and Mr Bulganin struck everyone as men of great ability and experience.

30 On the last day of our talks I referred to the proposal before the U.N. for the admission of 18 countries. I stressed the necessity of the Soviet Union throwing its weight in favour of admission of all these countries and not coming in the way because of fear that some clever move might outmanoeuvre them later. What effect my talk had on them, I cannot say. But I understand that some fresh instructions were sent to their representative in the U.N. Soon after, the remarkable and rather sensational developments took place when, on the initiative of the Soviet representative, 16 countries were admitted to the U.N.<sup>20</sup> This showed both the ability and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy. In taking this step, they strengthened their own position and embarrassed the United States. And even subsequently the U.S. did not adapt itself gracefully to this new development.

31. I have no doubt that taking it all in all, the Soviet leaders' visit to India has been a great success and its consequences will be good. The only unfortunate aspect of this is that the U.S.A. and the U.K. have been irritated greatly and, for the moment, India is rather unpopular

20. On 14 December 1955, the General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by 41 countries for admission of 16 new countries. The new member States were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Kampuchea, Sri Lanka, Finland, Hungary, Eire, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania and Spain.

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26. Mr. Bulganin said that the problem which faced India now, came up before them in Russia also during the early stages, and there were all kinds of arguments. In Russia, even now, they had small and village industries which produced goods worth five thousand million roubles.

27. Mr. Khrushchev said that the question of pushing forward heavy industries had to be considered in connection with the political situation. In Russia, they had to concentrate on heavy industries in order to survive. This same policy was being adopted by the other People's Democracies and for the same reason. The Soviet Union was consulted by them, and Russia had advised them not to push forward too fast in this direction. They need not copy the manner of development in the Soviet Union because conditions are different now and the Soviet Union is strong enough to meet any attack. These countries need not, therefore, add to the burdens of the people by too fast development of heavy industries as the Soviet Union had done. China, however, in his opinion, could develop her heavy industries more quickly, and it is for this reason that they were giving a good deal of help to China.

28. In the course of our discussion on the Communist Party's activities, Mr. Khrushchev said that U Nu had the same feeling as the Prime Minister. I had also referred to the case of Burma in this connection. Probably, U Nu had also discussed these activities of the Communist Party with the Soviet leaders. Mr. Khrushchev said that he did not even know before he went to Burma that there were several Communist Parties there. In Russia, they had little information about Communist Parties in other countries.

29. As I have said above, our talks were frank and we discussed even difficult problems without inhibitions. I am sure that these talks did good. In the course of their tour in

India, the Soviet leaders and more especially Mr Khrushchev spoke frankly also about our various development schemes, sometimes praising them, sometimes criticizing some part of them. It was obvious that he had an extensive and intimate knowledge of construction work, factories, mining and even agriculture. The manner of his speaking indicated that he felt more or less at home in our surroundings and could, therefore, discuss matters freely. Some of his suggestions in regard to construction, etc. obviously were worthy of consideration. Both he and Mr. Bulganin struck everyone as men of great ability and experience.

30. On the last day of our talks I referred to the proposal before the U.N. for the admission of 18 countries. I stressed the necessity of the Soviet Union throwing its weight in favour of admission of all these countries and not coming in the way because of fear that some clever move might outmanoeuvre them later. What effect my talk had on them, I cannot say. But I understand that some fresh instructions were sent to their representative in the U.N. Soon after, the remarkable and rather sensational developments took place when, on the initiative of the Soviet representative, 16 countries were admitted to the U.N.<sup>20</sup> This showed both the ability and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy. In taking this step, they strengthened their own position and embarrassed the United States. And even subsequently the U.S. did not adapt itself gracefully to this new development.

31. I have no doubt that taking it all in all, the Soviet leaders' visit to India has been a great success and its consequences will be good. The only unfortunate aspect of this is that the U.S.A. and the U.K. have been irritated greatly and, for the moment, India is rather unpopular

20 On 14 December 1955, the General Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by 41 countries for admission of 16 new countries. The new member States were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Kampuchea, Sri Lanka, Finland, Hungary, Eire, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania and Spain.

there. I suppose that gradually this feeling will lessen. Both in the U.S. and the U.K., much has been said of the considerable financial help that they have given to our country and some resentment has been expressed at the fact that we are not adequately grateful for it and go out of our way to welcome the Soviet people who have done little for us. This financial approach indicates how wrong they are in judging of the feelings of other countries. The Russians are cleverer and more understanding. It is not money that goes far in creating impressions, but the policies pursued. The U.S.A. and the U.K. created adverse impressions in India by their policies of military alliances in South East Asia and the Middle East, by the military aid given to Pakistan, by their passive support of Pakistan in Kashmir, and their general policy relating to Goa. Nothing could have been more calculated to irritate Indian opinion than Mr. Dulles' amazing statement on Goa. All these factors produced cumulative reactions on the Indian mind. The Soviet leaders on the other hand, no doubt deliberately and after careful thought, made statements completely supporting the Indian case in Goa and Kashmir.

32. As I have indicated above, the visit of the Soviet leaders to India must be considered in the context of the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference and the return of the cold war. Opinion in the U.S.A. especially and, to some extent, in the U.K., was in such an excited state that even a quiet visit of the Soviet leaders would have been resented. What was expected of India was to denounce Soviet policies in the West or, at any rate, not to encourage the Soviet leaders by its cordial welcome. In this, as in other matters, the Western countries have shown an unfortunate lack of understanding of Asian feelings and more particularly of Indian reactions. Indeed, the Baghdad Pact itself was, even from a narrow point of view, injurious to Western interests. As I write this, there have been large-scale disorders in Jordan against the proposed adherence of that country to the Baghdad Pact. Both the U.S.A. and the U.K. think that they can win over a country by influencing some rather conservative leaders

whom they support liberally. The nationalist urge in all these countries is ignored.

33 So far as India is concerned, she will of course pursue her policy of non-alignment and friendship with all countries. But inevitably criticism of policies like that embodied in the Baghdad Pact or in regard to Goa has to be made. This has nothing to do with what the Soviet Union might think. It is due to our own independent thinking and our own interests.

34 If shooting war is ruled out as it is generally admitted today, then the policy of a cold war becomes absolutely futile. Cold war might have some justification if there was the threat or the actuality of a shooting war to follow it. Otherwise it becomes a completely empty threat which does not frighten anybody. The only way to influence the policies of a country is thus through some kind of friendly intercourse. That has been India's policy and I believe that we have, to some extent, influenced other countries by this method. Naturally the extent of our ability to do so is limited and when passions are aroused it may well become almost nil. Unfortunately there is a good deal of passion at present and the cold war is starting again. Disarmament, which is essential to any real feeling of security, seems further off than ever.

New Delhi,  
December 20, 1955.

Jawaharlal Nehru

# 40

New Delhi  
30 December, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

A few days ago, I sent you a long note<sup>1</sup> on the visit of Mr Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev. This visit, as you know, became an event of great importance, both in India and the rest of the world. I have said something about its significance in the note I have sent you.

2 A number of events have happened in recent months which have added to the significant part which India is playing in world affairs. In this sense, the stature of India in the eyes of the world has risen greatly. This, of course, does not depend very much on the intrinsic merits of a nation but rather on the possibility of its saying or doing something which makes a difference. India's voice and opinion does make a difference today and hence the great interest taken in India. It is true that an important factor in this interest is the growing knowledge of India's achievements during the past few years and the earnestness with which India proposes to go ahead with her developmental schemes and Five Year Plans. Even those countries that do not like our policies pay great attention to what happens in India. We have had rather violent criticisms from the U.K. and the U.S.A. Most of these have been entirely misconceived. In any event they indicate how much value is attached to what India does

3 In the recent session<sup>2</sup> of the United Nations General Assembly, it is generally recognized that India's delegation played probably the most important part. This session

1. See *ante*, pp 309-325.

2 From 20 September to 20 December 1955

turned out to be in many ways a historic one. The mere fact of the admission of sixteen new Member-Nations has altered the complexion of the U.N. and rather shaken the dominance of a few Great Powers. Indeed, even as it was, the General Assembly indicated on more than one occasion that it would not be dictated to by the Great Powers. This tendency is bound to become more marked with the addition of the sixteen new Member-States.

4 India's delegation has received praise for its work from a variety of countries. Everyone recognized the outstanding part of India during this session and the extraordinary resourcefulness that our delegation showed in finding solutions for difficult problems. The Algerian issue<sup>3</sup> was one such problem which threatened to come in the way of all other work. Our delegation managed to deal with this matter with remarkable ability. Not only did they succeed in removing this deadlock but, in doing so, they gained the goodwill of all parties. The leader of our delegation, Shri V K. Krishna Menon, was largely responsible for the great success of our delegation's work.<sup>4</sup> Indeed he was the outstanding figure during this session of the U.N. General Assembly. Apart from many expressions of appreciation of our work, I have received special messages commending the work of our delegation and its leader from the Governments

3 The question was raised in the General Assembly on 29 September in the form of a joint memorandum by fourteen countries to discuss the denial by France of the right of self-determination to the people of Algeria where the situation was reportedly threatening to cause disruption of peace in the entire Mediterranean region.

4 On the initiative of the Arab-Asian group of nations led by V.K. Krishna Menon, the Political Committee of the U.N. decided on 25 November 1955, by unanimous vote and without debate, to remove the question of Algeria from the agenda of the Assembly for the current session. The formula devised by Menon was a procedural one and did not imply any change in the political, juridical or moral attitudes of the parties to the dispute. Following this, the French delegation returned to the Assembly on 29 November 1955 after an absence of two months.

of France and Canada. India played a notable part also in the admission of the sixteen new Member-States.<sup>5</sup>

5 I think that it might truly be said that we have gained this position in international affairs without compromising any principle or policy to which we adhere. Indeed, it is because of our firm adherence to these policies that respect has come to us, even from nations which do not like our policies. Recently, a rather casual remark by me in Parliament about the Baghdad Pact<sup>6</sup> created a strong impression in some of the West Asian countries. All this means additional responsibility for us and care has to be taken about almost every word that we say.

6 During the visit of the Soviet leaders to India and afterwards, there was a great outcry in the Press of the U.K. and the U.S.A. against them and to some extent against India. I was astonished at the virulence of some of the attacks made. It was almost a reaction of fear lest India should line up with the Soviet group. That indicated a remarkable lack of understanding of how we function as well as resentment at the growing importance of India in world affairs. Soon afterward there was some slight reaction the other way when it was realized that their fears about India changing her policy of non-alignment were unfounded. Both these reactions indicated an extreme nervousness and lack of stability in thinking. There was, of course, no question at any time about our changing our basic policy. It is true that, as a result of the Soviet leaders' visit, greater contacts with the Soviet Union took place and a natural development in our trade and exchanges of equipment or technical personnel will follow. The visit only accelerated this process slightly. It would have taken place anyhow.

7 Many people seem to forget that geography is still very important in world affairs and governs international

5. See *ante*, p. 323.

6. See *ante*, p. 314.

contacts. Geography leads to closer contacts with neighbouring countries, unless there are very special political reasons to the contrary, such as in the case of Pakistan. A country like Nepal, although weak, is more important to us in the long run than some distant country, however big or powerful it might be. Thus, even apart from our policy of non-alignment it is a natural development for us to have closer contacts with neighbouring countries like China or the Soviet Union. People who think only in terms of the world being divided up into Communist and anti-Communist blocs forget these other factors, and have only a single yardstick to judge of a nation's policy. It is difficult to use that yardstick in the case of India because of her policy of non-alignment and friendship with all nations. Hence, their appraisal is seldom correct, and repeated failures of their policy make them resentful.

8. It is some extraneous circumstance, usually of a political character, that comes in the way of development of contacts between neighbouring countries. Thus, in the normal course of events, Japan and China would trade with each other. But the United States' policy prevents this from happening. The result is that both China and Japan suffer, and indeed nobody profits except perhaps from the political angle. We have no reason to be bound down by these political or military considerations, and allow these normal developments to take place.

9. Another factor governing international relations is the broad political policy followed by different countries. The statement<sup>7</sup> by Mr. Dulles on Goa has irritated and even angered Indian opinion, while the Soviet leaders' support of India's case in regard to Goa was welcomed here, as also what they said about Kashmir. In both these matters, important for India, the attitude of the Western countries has been adverse to India. Generally speaking, in regard to colonial questions, the Western attitude is not approved of

7. See *ante*, p. 316.

in India. The system of military alliances in South East Asia and Western Asia and the Middle East has also been to the disadvantage of India.

10 India has much to learn in regard to the development of industry and technology. We can certainly learn this from the United States or the U.K., or other European countries. In fact we have gone there in the past for this purpose. The U.S.S.R. has now come into the picture with its highly developed industry and technology. If it offers us favourable terms, there is no reason why we should not accept them. In some ways, the lesson to be learnt from the U.S.S.R. is likely to be more helpful because America is far too advanced and has built up an industrial and social structure which is very different from anything in India. Probably the U.K. is relatively nearer to us in this respect. The Soviet Union has only recently gone through this process of rapid industrialization, with its successes and failures, and we can learn much from it. From China, we have little to learn in regard to technology as we are probably more advanced. But both China and India are struggling with the same type of problems, agrarian and industrial, and both have huge populations. The experience of either country can thus be helpful to the other. The fact of communism in China need not necessarily come in the way of this, except to the extent that we have a different approach. An authoritarian Government might be able to bring about speedier results. But the problem is essentially the same in both countries.

11 One of the most impressive things that is happening in China is the rapid growth of agricultural and industrial cooperatives. This is no doubt helped by the authoritarian regime there. But this is not an adequate explanation and we have to find out the other causes. What is the approach to this problem in China? How have they succeeded thus far? We have done much work in India in regard to cooperatives. But our success is still very limited. Probably our present laws relating to them do not encourage rapid growth. Also, the very persons who should play a part in organizing cooperatives do so because of lack of resources.

Recently, we had an eminent Chinese agrarian economist in Delhi and he had a long discussion with our Planning Commission about this matter. What he told the Planning Commission about the phenomenal growth in agricultural cooperatives in China was very impressive. It is likely that we shall send a small team to China to study this and report to us.

12. We are often reminded by the press of the United States and sometimes of the U.K. that we are ungrateful to those countries. We receive aid from them and yet are obstinate enough to adhere to policies which are disagreeable to them. I hope we are duly grateful for any help given to us. But this constant linking of aid with policy is not pleasant. We have of course always made it clear that every kind of aid should be without strings. I feel sometimes that it would probably be better for our relations with other countries if we did not accept too much aid from them.

13. You must have seen the statement issued by the King of Saudi Arabia just before his departure from India. This tribute<sup>s</sup> by the King to India's general policy and, more especially, to her treatment of the Muslim minority was very welcome and has had a good effect in India and abroad. I am afraid that it irritated Pakistan very much just as the Soviet

9 . King Saud exhorted Indian Muslims "to be true to your country and good to your neighbours. Your national duties must be executed with sincerity and straightforwardness." He also said 'the fate of Indian Muslims was in safe hands as Mr. Nehru was bravely and determinedly executing a wise policy of affection and neighbourliness to all Indians irrespective of creed."

support of our case in Kashmir upset them also.<sup>9</sup> This latter statement makes a considerable difference to the whole Kashmir issue. British and American newspapers have strangely hinted that we in India have been embarrassed by the Soviet statement on Kashmir. I have felt no embarrassment; in fact we have welcomed it.

14. Nearly two weeks ago, we sent a strong note to the United States Government about Mr. Dulles' statement on Goa. We have had no answer from them yet. We may get this answer soon and then give publicity to both notes. Our note to the Government about the Baghdad Pact met with a very inadequate response. I presume that the U.K. Government is beginning to realize that behind the facade of the Baghdad Pact all is not well. The recent disorders in Jordan resulting in the resignation of the Ministry<sup>10</sup> have brought out vividly popular disapproval of the Pact. The U.K. and the U.S.A. Governments still imagine that they can control Asia's policies by dealing with a few men at the top and ignoring the people.

15. In spite of the strong language used by the Soviet leaders on the one side, and by the U.K. and the U.S.A. on the other, the international situation is an easier one. It is true that the deadlock over Germany is complete and there is also a deadlock in Indo-China, but the fear of war has receded

9 Reacting to the statements of the Soviet leaders on Kashmir, Chowdhury Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan said on 16 December 1955, "these are extraordinary statements. The people of Kashmir had not been allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. The state is under the occupation of the Indian Army. A plebiscite has not been held . . . How then could people of Kashmir have decided to become part of India " On 17 December 1955, Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, accused Bulganin of trying "to set India and Pakistan at loggerheads." He said the Soviet tactics were aimed at "bringing the whole area under the spell of cold war "

10. Following riots and division in the cabinet over the proposal of the Government to join the Pact, Said el-Mulki resigned on 12 December, and a caretaker Government under Ibrahim Hashem was appointed on 19 Dec 1955

Evidently, the Soviet Union is not dissatisfied at this state of affairs. They think that the force of circumstances will compel some of the Western countries to deal with them and Western Germany to deal with Eastern Germany. There is something in this contention, and the U.S. and U.K. policies have been rigid and have failed to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. They want Germany to reunite and at the same time they want Germany to be in N.A.T.O. There can be no reunion of the two parts of Germany except by success in war or by negotiated settlement. If the former is ruled out, as it is more or less now, then the only other way is by agreement. Agreement cannot take place unless the Soviet Union and East Germany agree to it. Meanwhile, opinion in West Germany is increasingly in favour of direct approaches to the Soviet Union about this matter. Thus, the Western position is weakening and they have no alternative policy to offer.

16. If shooting war is ruled out, then the policy of cold war ceases to have much meaning. The only other policy is to try to settle problems by discussion and agreement. I have no doubt that this method will have to be adopted sooner or later.

17. We are approaching the final stages of our second Five Year Plan, and still many important decisions have to be taken. In the course of the next month, there will be a meeting of the National Development Council. I hope some of these decisions will be taken then. As a matter of fact, however, the more we have considered these matters, the more we have come to the conclusion that our approach should remain flexible and capable of variation with experience.

I send you all my good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
16 January, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

This evening I spoke on the radio on the reorganization of States.<sup>1</sup> This evening also, a communique is being issued on behalf of the Government of India on this subject.<sup>2</sup> You will observe that Government have come to decisions about nearly all the matters referred to in the Report. The only major decision that has to be made relates to the Punjab. There are also some minor matters to be adjusted.

2 I need not tell you with what anxious care we have considered these important questions and of our attempts to consult as large a number of people as possible. We came to the conclusion that the closer we adhered to the recommendations of the Report, the better it would be. Indeed, I would have liked to accept every recommendation of the Report in toto. Unfortunately, this could not be done in regard to Bombay because of the unfortunate developments that have taken place there.

1 In his broadcast Nehru announced the Government's decision that Bombay city should be centrally administered, Vidarbha merged in Maharashtra State and Saurashtra and Kutch incorporated in Gujarat State. The recommendations of the Commission were "right and fair and likely to lead to progress of Maharashtra which had acquired an enviable reputation for efficiency and progress".

2 Having accepted most of the recommendations with certain minor adjustments, the communique of 16 January stated that (1) Bombay State should be divided into Marathi and Gujarati States with Bombay city as the centrally administered area, (2) all States should be grouped into five zones, each having a zonal council to deal with matters of common concern, and (3) the future of the Punjab and the Telengana area in Hyderabad would be decided later.

3. I realize that many of these decisions may not prove agreeable to you from the point of view of your particular State. In considering each individual case of border rectification we were fully conscious of the arguments against it. Looking at some of these proposed changes by themselves, we might have hesitated to recommend it. As the picture we looked at grew larger and included other parts of India, we saw things in a wider perspective and recognized that in the balance the proposed change was desirable. The whole purpose of appointing the Commission would have been frustrated if we set aside its recommendations and considered everything afresh. If we had to go into every matter in detail, then it would have been better to do so straightaway without the intervention of the Commission.

4. I do not mean to say that the recommendations of every Commission that we appoint must necessarily be accepted. But where a large number of questions are closely interrelated, it becomes difficult to isolate each and decide it separately without reference to the others. The safest course appears to be to accept the conclusions reached by the members of the Commission after very careful survey, discussion, and consultation.

5. A few minor changes have been made almost always by consent of the parties concerned. It is still possible for other minor adjustments to take place if there is agreement of the parties concerned. Otherwise we should hold to the recommendations of the Commission.

6. We attach the greatest importance to safeguards for linguistic minorities and others and I hope that this will find a prominent place in the legislation we have to promote. If these safeguards are adequate and are fully acted upon, then the sense of grievance which has sometimes been felt by linguistic or other minorities will largely vanish. But, after all, no safeguards are adequate, unless the will to give effect to them fully is present. It is thus of the highest importance that we approach this task in good faith and with the desire to do justice and more than justice to those who may be in the position of minorities.

7 Minorities may be, and sometimes have been, troublesome and have made exaggerated claims. In a democracy however, it is the will of the majority that ultimately prevails. The responsibility therefore rests on the majority not only to do justice to the minority but, what is much more important, to win over the goodwill and confidence of the minority group, whether it is linguistic, religious or other.

8 We are suggesting, as you know, the formation of zonal councils.<sup>3</sup> This is a modest beginning in the right direction and this should encourage co-operation between several States. These zonal councils are not meant to be a fifth wheel in the coach or as something coming in the way of close relations between the Centre and the States. They are not meant to take away any power from the States or to reduce the authority of the Centre. The constitutional position of the States and the Centre will remain the same. But it is hoped that the functioning of these zonal councils will not only result in settling numerous problems which arise from day to day between adjoining States but also help in economic planning of that larger area.

9 In considering these difficult questions of reorganization, I have felt more and more that we should have fewer and larger States. I do not suggest any change now. We have had enough experience of facing changes. But I think it will be a worthwhile development later on for two or sometimes more States to join together to form a larger State. A suggestion was made that West Bengal and Bihar should form one large State. From any economic or planning point of view this is obviously desirable. The great industrial area of India lies partly in Bihar and partly in Bengal. River valley schemes overlap. Bengal has been reduced to a

<sup>3</sup> The Government announced on 16 January that the States might be grouped into five zones—Northern, Central, Eastern, Western and Southern—which "may deal with matters of common concern, promote inter-State concord and arrest the growth of acute State consciousness." The appointment of common Governors, establishment of common High Courts and common Public Service Commissions in certain regions were also contemplated.

fraction of its former size. The co-operation of Bengal and Bihar would, I feel sure, be to the advantage of both. This suggestion, I was happy to find, met with a favourable response though obviously nothing could be done about it at this stage and it requires careful consideration. So also, at a later stage, we might have the joining together of some of the States in South India.

10. I think it will be true to say that this whole question of reorganization of States has created a most difficult problem and a critical situation for all of us. Suddenly, our weaknesses have come to the front and those who do not like us are pleased at these developments. How we, as a people, face this crisis is a matter of the greatest importance. Can we rise above our provincial or linguistic urges and desires, and consider the problem of India as a whole? Not only our reputation but our future is at stake. I earnestly hope that all of us, however strongly we might feel about any particular matter affecting our State, will now abide by the decisions taken and show to ourselves and to the world how we can rise above even strongly felt differences.

11. Here we are now at the threshold of the second Five Year Plan which has already been considered by the various committees and will soon be put up before the National Development Council. The discussion on this Plan has raised many basic issues and questions of principle. Gradually, and even painfully, we are going forward step by step and laying down the principles that should govern democratic planning. We have no clear precedents for this and so we have to discover them ourselves and act up to them. How to combine a full-fledged democratic structure of the State and a rapid planned development. How to build up a socialist structure on the basis of parliamentary democracy. There is no conflict between the two. Indeed, I would say that there is an ultimate conflict between a democracy and an economic structure which does not lead to economic democracy. Speaking at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, I mentioned some of these principles that should govern our

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approach.<sup>4</sup> I am sending you a report of this speech of mine as it might perhaps interest you.

12. Many of us talk about atomic energy and the nuclear weapons that it has produced. And yet, I doubt whether we realize the great danger which overshadows us all the time now because of these terrible weapons. The Soviet Government has declared that they would be prepared to put an end to the production and experimentation of hydrogen bombs.<sup>5</sup> That was good so far as it went and we welcomed that proposal as it was in line with what we have ourselves been saying but, in spite of this brave declaration, in actual fact, the Soviet Government had another experimental explosion of a hydrogen bomb only a few weeks ago.<sup>6</sup> Now the United States Government has declared that it will have a bigger explosion of this type somewhere in the Pacific areas.<sup>7</sup> The United Kingdom likewise tells us that it will continue with its work on hydrogen bombs.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in spite of warnings of scientists, the great nations of the world still

<sup>4</sup> In his speech on 7 January, Nehru said that "we cannot meet social problems of the day" unless "we go towards what is called a socialist structure of society." He stressed the need "for long-term planning in the broader sense with concentrated planning for relatively shorter periods." Nehru added that "we get rather mixed up even in regard to our shorter plans because our minds are not clear about what we want India to be, say 15 or 20 years later."

<sup>5</sup> On 26 November 1955, the Soviet Government announced that it "stands for the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons with the establishment of effective international control," and for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

<sup>6</sup> The "most powerful of all explosions so far carried out" was announced in Moscow on 26 November 1955.

<sup>7</sup> Reports from Washington on 9 January 1956 stated that the U.S. A expected to conduct its new "super" hydrogen bomb test explosion in the Pacific Ocean in May 1956. On 11 January, Dulles' said that no matter how strong the Asian nations' protest may be, no new basis had been found to warrant suspension of such tests.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Eden said on 30 November 1955 that while the British Government would at all times welcome arrangements which contribute to world security, they were not prepared to accept agreements which would not treat Britain on par with other Great Powers.

pin their faith on the hydrogen bomb and march towards destruction. Are we to look on helplessly, occasionally raising our feeble voice in protest? If not, what else are we to do?

13 In the recent session of our Science Congress<sup>9</sup> held in Agra, some of these matters were referred to. We are making good progress in atomic energy and our first research reactor will function in about six months' time. Other reactors will follow soon after. We are, I believe, the most advanced country in this respect in Asia at present, excluding what happens in the Soviet Union. Probably, even as regards European countries, there are only very few that are ahead of us. I need hardly say that we think of atomic energy only in terms of its peaceful use.

14. Atomic energy is not merely a weapon to be used for good or ill. It is symbolic of a new phase in world history. In fact, the old type narrow nationalism and State boundaries are likely to mean less and less in future. If that is so, how much less is the significance of provincial boundaries and the like?

15 A recent statement by Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, has created something of a sensation. He refers to atomic war having been on the point of being started on three occasions in the course of the past year or so when it was just stopped in time.<sup>10</sup> He mentions asking me to convey a warning to the Chinese Government.<sup>11</sup> I have no particular

9. Inaugurated by Nehru on 4 January 1956

10 In an interview published on 11 January 1956, Dulles claimed that the atomic war was averted on three occasions in 1953 and 1954 even though they "had walked to the brink," because the United States had given a warning that any Communist aggression in Korea, Indo-China and Formosa Straits would be met by superior forces, including use of nuclear weapons.

11. Dulles asserted in the interview that the Communists did not walk out of the conference because earlier in his talks with Nehru he had made it clear that if People's China broke off the negotiations, the U.S.A. would not only renew the Korean war but would extend it by air bombardment of Manchuria and use of atom c weapons.

recollection of this though he may have hinted at it vaguely. This statement of Mr. Dulles suddenly pulls us up and tells us how near the brink we are. Mr. Dulles appears to have a remarkable capacity for saying the wrong thing and indeed doing it. The fate of the world might well hang on some sudden urge which Mr. Dulles might experience.

16. In this connection, I might tell you that we have been in correspondence with the U.S. Government regarding the joint statement Mr. Dulles made with the Foreign Minister of Portugal about Goa.<sup>12</sup> We sent a strong note to the U.S. Government.<sup>13</sup> The reply<sup>14</sup> that came after a long interval was not satisfactory and we have sent another note now expressing our opinion in very clear language. Some time later, we may perhaps publish these notes if the U.S. Government is agreeable to our doing so.

17. You will have seen the statement issued by the U.K. Government about the sabotage of the Indian airliner, *Kashmir Princess*.<sup>15</sup> There is no doubt that this sabotage was organized by some agencies from Formosa. In fact, the person who is said to have done it was heavily rewarded for it and escaped to Formosa. The Government there refuses to give him up. I doubt if anything more horrible has happened in recent times than this sabotage of our airliner. And yet, the culprit is shielded and there is an absence of condemnation of this act in most countries.

18. Recent weeks have seen the establishment of a new independent State, that is, the Sudan.<sup>16</sup> We have recognized

12. See *ante*, p. 316.

13. Nehru announced on 22 December 1955 that a note had been sent to the U.S. Government.

14. On 28 December 1955.

15. A statement issued by British Colonial Office on 11 January 1956 said that in spite of a warrant of arrest issued against Chow Tse-ming, the person suspected of planting a time bomb in the *Kashmir Princess*, the authorities in Taiwan had refused to hand him over on "legal grounds."

16. Sudan was proclaimed an 'independent and democratic' republic on January 1956 and India announced her recognition on the      day

this State and hope to have close and friendly relations with it.

19. We have recently had some trouble about our banks or rather with our bank employees.<sup>17</sup> I must confess that their action in striking after impartial judges had given an award was very reprehensible. Government had no choice but to oppose it. At the same time, it is true that some of the lower paid employees of banks have suffered from this award and their normal monthly income goes down considerably. We must see the human aspect of this and remove the suffering caused. But the way the bank employees acted was the wrong way and this has actually delayed any calm consideration of odd cases of persons who deserve special consideration. I hope, however, that this special consideration will be given to them at a suitable time.

20. The elections in France<sup>18</sup> have come as a shock to many people and French politics continue to be very unstable. In Europe and indeed elsewhere too the cold war has again displayed its ugly face.

21. We have had recently some more visits from distinguished people from abroad. Madame Soong Ching-Ling, the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen,<sup>19</sup> was an honoured

17. The bank employees called for a two-day strike from 6 January 1956 to protest against a reduction in their emoluments ordered by the Government.

18. Held on 2 January 1956. The results showed the Communists emerging as the single largest group with 150 seats. The Gaullists who won only 22 seats suffered the most serious setback.

19. (1866-1925). Founder of the Kuomintang party.

guest. Dr. Martino,<sup>20</sup> the Italian Foreign Minister, also came here and Dr. Franz Bluecher,<sup>21</sup> the Vice-Chancellor of West Germany is still touring India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. Gaetano Martino (1900-1967). Foreign Minister of Italy, 1954-57; President of European Parliament, 1962-64. He came to Delhi on 4 January 1956.

21. (1896-1959). Vice-Chancellor of Federal German Republic, 1949-57 and in-charge of European Affairs, 1949-56. He arrived in New Delhi on 10 January 1956.

New Delhi  
14 February, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you on the eve of the new session of Parliament<sup>1</sup> and almost immediately after the Congress session at Amritsar.<sup>2</sup> Since I wrote to you last, we have had not only the celebration of the Republic Day and all its connected functions, but also something else which has, for the moment, cast a shadow over India.

2. The reorganization of States has led to certain occurrences, in Bombay and Orissa chiefly,<sup>3</sup> which have shown up some of our basic weaknesses. It is not much good our blaming each other for it even though the censure might be deserved. We have to face a deeper problem and those of us who are in a position of responsibility have to face it fairly and squarely. We cannot solve a problem by running away from it or by casting the blame on others.

3. I do not propose to write at any length about this problem because enough has been said about it. Soon after the first major shock, the Congress Working Committee met and they passed a resolution called "Call to the Nation"<sup>4</sup> I would invite your special attention to this. More recently, at

1 The session of Parliament was held from 20 November to 23 December 1955.

2 Held from 7 to 12 February 1956

3 There was widespread arson, looting and rioting in Bombay and in parts of West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. According to official figures 75 persons lost their lives; unofficial reports placed the number at 300.

4 The resolution, passed on 23 January, declared that "no changes will be made in the decisions already arrived at or that might be taken later on the States Reorganization because of violence or terroristic methods."

the Amritsar Congress, this matter was again fully considered. The resolutions passed indicate the great importance which we attach to these recent developments and our resolve to do our utmost to meet these new dangers.<sup>5</sup> This is, of course, not a merely governmental matter or a police matter. We have to go much deeper down into the minds and hearts of our people as well as our own, and then seek a remedy which will have a healing effect. It is well known that the deepest injuries are those that are self-inflicted and they take long to heal. We have to start the process of healing as fast as we can, keeping always the major objective in view. We cannot surrender to violence, nor can we govern by violence.

4. You must have read all the resolutions of the Congress in the newspapers. They deserve a closer study and I hope to send them to you later in pamphlet form.

5. So far as the question of States reorganization is concerned, the Government of India have already announced their decisions, except in regard to the Punjab and one or two relatively minor matters in the South. Before long, these other decisions will also be announced and a Bill will be framed accordingly. The final decision, of course, can be made only by Parliament.

6. Amritsar was unique in many ways. The Congress had met there after over thirtyfive years. The last Amritsar session of the Congress was in December 1919, a few months after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Martial Law in the Punjab. Even after this long period of time, the memory of Jallianwala Bagh hovered over the Congress session and was a continuous reminder to us of what we had gone through and what we had achieved. Are we to imperil all this

5. Congress passed resolutions on socialism, economic policy, international affairs, foreign settlements, party organization, and some other matters like abolition of caste system, the curbing of communalism and all social and legal disabilities affecting women, implementation of proposals for land reform and extension of cooperative and credit facilities in villages.

achievement by our folly? And yet, there was folly enough Amritsar saw three major political gatherings and three huge processions. There was the Congress, of course, and then there were the Akalis and the Maha Punjab people,<sup>6</sup> the latter two bitterly hostile to each other, and the Congress occupying a position of its own, different from that of the others. Many people feared trouble and foreign correspondents gathered in large numbers like vultures scenting death. Fortunately they were disappointed. This was not only because of the very adequate arrangements made by the Punjab Government, but even more so, because nobody really wanted trouble. If there were some trouble-makers they knew well that they would not have an easy time.

7 I think that both the Akalis and the Maha Punjab people, aggressive and militant as they were, did not really mean all that they said. There was a great deal of showmanship about it and an attempt at pressure tactics. Of course, this kind of behaviour always involves some risk and even a small incident might grow.

8. There was then this exhibition of political immaturity and a lack of democratic sense. There was also an exhibition of how even a difficult and dangerous situation can be dealt with by political maturity and cool heads. Personally, I do not think that normally such rival processions should be allowed at the same time. The idea that everyone can brandish a sword or a lathi about at any time he likes is not my conception of civil liberty. Apart from inherent dangers, the public suffers and the life of the city is held up. However, I think, on this particular occasion it was worthwhile to allow this complete freedom and to demonstrate that we could control it peacefully.

6 The Maha Punjab Samiti had started an agitation for the merger of Pepsu, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh into one province as suggested by the States Reorganization Commission, while the Akalis insisted on formation of Punjabi Suba with the merger of Punjab and Pepsu states only.

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9. While these conflicts and arguments about the reorganization of States have naturally filled people's minds, a far more important question we have to face is the second Five Year Plan.<sup>7</sup> A draft outline has just been issued and I commend it to your careful attention. This is a brave attempt to fashion our future and it will require all the strength and energy that we possess. I believe that ultimately this is the only way to deal with the separatism, provincialism and sectarianism that we have to combat. Mere pious exhortations do not have much effect and are forgotten soon. But to approach this question indirectly by diverting people's attention to constructive work appears to me to be the only effective way. I suggest, therefore, that the second Five Year Plan should be brought before the public in every way and their attention directed to it.

10. I am not writing at any length to you on this occasion and I do not propose to discuss foreign affairs, though much is happening in this changing world. The general situation at present in the world is not as good as it was a few months ago. This has been indicated in the Congress resolution on international affairs.<sup>8</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7 The Second Plan aimed at structural changes in the economy with stress on rapid industrial development, building of heavy industry for the production of capital goods, and an expansion of village industries to produce consumer goods and provide employment.

8. The resolution hoped that all disputes in East Asia would be settled peacefully and without outside interference. Criticising the SEATO pact, the resolution commended the affirmation of faith in *Panchsheel* by some other countries and hoped that People's China would soon take her place in the United Nations. It called for total prohibition of the manufacture, use and experimentation of weapons of mass destruction.

New Delhi  
14 March, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you last just a month ago. During this period we have suffered the loss of our Speaker, Shri G.V Mavalankar,<sup>1</sup> and Acharya Narendra Deva.<sup>2</sup> Both, in their respective spheres, played a very important part during this transitional period in India. It is generally admitted that Shri Mavalankar was a great Speaker and he helped in giving an inner content to our Parliamentary institutions. Acharya Narendra Deva, though rather a solitary and scholastic figure, was undoubtedly one of the outstanding leaders in our struggle for freedom and subsequently. He was more a thinker than an actor and yet in the field of action also he had played an important part. He had been a close comrade of many of us in Uttar Pradesh for nearly forty years.

2. Parliament has begun again and the general budget<sup>3</sup> and the railway budget<sup>4</sup> have been introduced. Both show hopeful trends and the results are better than had been estimated previously. There is no doubt that our Railways

1. (1888-1956). Congressman from Gujarat; Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-46, Central Legislative Assembly, 1946-47, and of Parliament, 1947-56. He died on 27 February 1956.

2. (1889-1956). Professor of Indian History, Kashi Vidyapith, 1921-26; member, Congress Socialist Party from 1934; imprisoned in Ahmednagar, 1942-45; Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, 1947-51; founder-member of Praja Socialist Party and its Chairman since December 1954. He died on 19 February 1956.

3. On 29 February 1956.

4. On 23 February 1956.

are making progress, but at the same time the demands upon them are greater than ever. There is the demand to keep pace in regard to transport requirements with the progressive industrialization of the country and there is the ever-increasing number of passengers which leads to overcrowding. This increase in passenger traffic is to some extent an indication of more money being in circulation as also of the growing population. Efforts are being made to meet these urgent demands and a large sum of money has been allotted to the Railways in the second Five Year Plan, and yet even this sum is hardly adequate for the purpose.

3. I think that an immediate necessity is to check ticketless travelling (as well as other malpractices) which not only leads to considerable loss of revenue but also to overcrowding. Any money spent for this purpose will be well spent.

4. The general budget has, on the whole, been welcomed. It is a budget on conservative lines. Perhaps we shall have to think of new methods and some changes in our basic approach to taxation. A good deal of thought in fact has been given to this, both for the purpose of making our taxation system more efficient and equitable and in order to raise more revenue for our Five Year Plans.

5. . The work on the reorganization of States has been greatly delayed. We have at last arrived at the stage of finalizing the Bill and circulating it to the States. It is a happy omen that the difficult and ticklish question of the Punjab has been settled more or less satisfactorily. In fact, most of the problems we have had to face have been settled with a large measure of consent of the people concerned. Unhappily the question of Bombay and Maharashtra has led to a great deal of ill will and conflict. It must be our endeavour to remove this ill will and restore normal conditions. No solution is a satisfactory one if it leaves a trail of bitterness and frustration behind.

6 The new proposal of a union of Bihar and West Bengal<sup>5</sup> has led to a great deal of controversy and has caused some excitement. I understand that the proposed Bill for Reorganization will not deal with Bengal and Bihar. A separate Bill will have to be brought later for this purpose.

7. We have had some distinguished visitors and they have received a warm welcome wherever they have gone. Among these visitors have been the Shahanshah and the Queen of Iran.<sup>6</sup> It is well known that our policy is not in line with that of Iran, more especially since Iran joined the Baghdad Pact. Nevertheless, the welcome that the Shahanshah got was cordial and I believe he was not only surprised but greatly pleased with it. We demonstrated in this case as in others that we can be close friends even when we differ.

8. During the last few days, we have had visits from three Foreign Ministers—Mr. Selwyn Lloyd<sup>7</sup> of the U.K., Mr Dulles<sup>8</sup> of the U.S.A., and M. Pineau<sup>9</sup> of France. These visits more or less coincided with the meeting of the S.E.A.T.O Council<sup>10</sup> in Karachi where an extraordinary reference was

5. The Chief Ministers of Bihar and West Bengal, Sri Krishna Sinha and B.C. Roy, in a joint statement on 23 January 1956, proposed the merger of the two States, subject to the fact that the people concerned will have to be consulted and an atmosphere of voluntary reunion and co-operation has to be created." Finally the proposal was dropped.

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8. From 9 to 10 March 1956.

9. He came to New Delhi on 11 March 1956.

10. Held from 6 to 8 March 1956 under the chairmanship of Zulfikar Ali Haq Choudhury, Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

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made to Kashmir<sup>11</sup> as well as to the Durand line.<sup>12</sup> I had long talks with all these Foreign Ministers and, even though we did not agree about many matters. I think our position was explained to them fully and frankly. The area of disagreement was largest with Mr. Dulles and smallest with M. Pineau. Indeed, I was agreeably surprised to find how much there was in common between our approach to many international problems and that of M. Pineau. Incidentally, his visit here helped us to put finishing touches to the proposed treaty relating to Pondicherry, etc.

9 Mr. Selwyn Lloyd came here before the S.E.A.T O Council meeting at Karachi, the other two came after that meeting. In speaking to Mr. Dulles, I laid stress naturally on the statements made about Kashmir at the S.E.A.T O meeting and on Mr. Dulles' previous statement on Goa<sup>13</sup>. Both of these statements were singularly misconceived and harmful. Probably, they have come in the way of better relations between India and the U.S.A. more than anything else. Many people imagine that our relations with the U S., depend on the amount of financial aid that they can give us. This is a complete misapprehension. Whether the U.S. give us much or little or nothing at all, our relations with them will not be affected much, provided other factors are satisfactory. It is these other and political factors that are constantly coming in the way. Our general approach to the

11. Reports published from Karachi on 6 March 1956 said that Pakistan canvassed support among members of SEATO for an early plebiscite in Kashmir. She argued that in view of the strong support extended to India by the Soviet Union on the issue of Kashmir, Pakistan had every right to expect the backing of her "allies". In response, members of SEATO affirmed their belief in an early settlement of the Kashmir question through the United Nations or by direct negotiations.

12. Members attending the SEATO Conference on being urged by Pakistan on 6 March to support her in rejecting the Afghan demand for the formation of a Pushtu State declared that their Governments recognized that the sovereignty of Pakistan extended upto the Durand Line, the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

13 See ante p 316

world situation differs from that of the U.S. which is based largely on military considerations. We think that there can be no solution of the major problems of the world if the approach is chiefly a military one. Indeed we have seen a progressive deterioration because of this military approach

10 I think there might have been some justification for the N.A.T.O. being formed some years ago.<sup>14</sup> But the later extension of this organization for purposes for which it was not originally intended, and the new pacts and alliances in the Far East and South East of Asia, as well as the Baghdad Pact, have been most unfortunate and have certainly not helped the cause of peace or security. In Eastern Asia, there is an inter-locking of these various alliances, with all the evil effects, but on a much larger and more dangerous scale, of the inter-locking of companies and corporations. Among these pacts and alliances in East Asia are : the U.S. and South Korea,<sup>15</sup> the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan,<sup>16</sup> the U.S., Australia and New Zealand,<sup>17</sup> and the S.E.A.T.O Pact<sup>18</sup> which includes the U.S., the U.K., France, the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan (It is not clear how Pakistan finds its way in a South East Asia Pact. Indeed, Mr. Dulles told me that Pakistan had no business to be there). In this inter-locking of military alliances, it is possible for one country to take a step which would result in dragging in the others. Thus President Syngman Rhee<sup>19</sup> or Chiang Kai-shek might commit some aggression and drag in the United States even against their will. If the U.S. was dragged in, the other countries of S.E.A.T.O. would also be affected.

14. Formed under the North Atlantic treaty signed in Washington on 4 April 1949

15 The U.S. and South Korean mutual defence treaty came into effect from 17 November 1954.

16. In 1954, the U.S. signed a defence treaty with Chiang Kai-shek's Government.

17 See Vol. 3, pp. 464-465.

18 See Vol. 3 p 236

9 For b fn see Vol. 3 p 312.

11. We have seen an instance of this, in a relatively small way, at the recent S.E.A.T.O. meeting in Karachi. Apparently, none of the countries represented, except Pakistan, was at all keen on referring to Kashmir. But, on the insistence of Pakistan, all the other countries fell into line. As a matter of fact, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had clearly stated before the S.E.A.T.O. meeting that the Kashmir question could not be raised there, but, no doubt under pressure from others, he had to agree. The only country which could have stopped this reference to Kashmir was the U.S. Presumably they did not wish to do so.

12. By reference to Kashmir and the Durand line, the S.E.A.T.O. Pact extends itself far beyond its geographical area beyond its declared purposes. Its reference to Kashmir and the Durand line means that a military alliance is backing one country, namely, Pakistan, in its disputes with India and Afghanistan. For any organization to function in this way, in the absence of the other party, could be considered an impropriety, to say the least of it. In the present case, there is another aspect. There were three Commonwealth countries, apart from Pakistan, present at this S.E.A.T.O. meeting, and all these sided with Pakistan against another Commonwealth country, India.

13. I need not go into these details as you are well acquainted with them. This has raised a serious issue, and we are not going to allow it to rest where it is. I think that our strong reaction has already rather shaken up many of these S.E.A.T.O. countries as well as other countries. It must be remembered that behind all this S.E.A.T.O. business, there is the flow of military aid from the U.S. to Pakistan. This has grown in extent and is already considerable. It is raising difficult problems for us in defence, and we shall have to take steps to meet the new situation. Probably, in a year's time, if this aid continues as it is likely to, Pakistan's military position will be quite strong. I am afraid all this is going to cast a heavy burden on us. There is talk of American aid in our civil developmental programme. It is seldom realized

Inaugurating the meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi,  
6 Dec. 1957

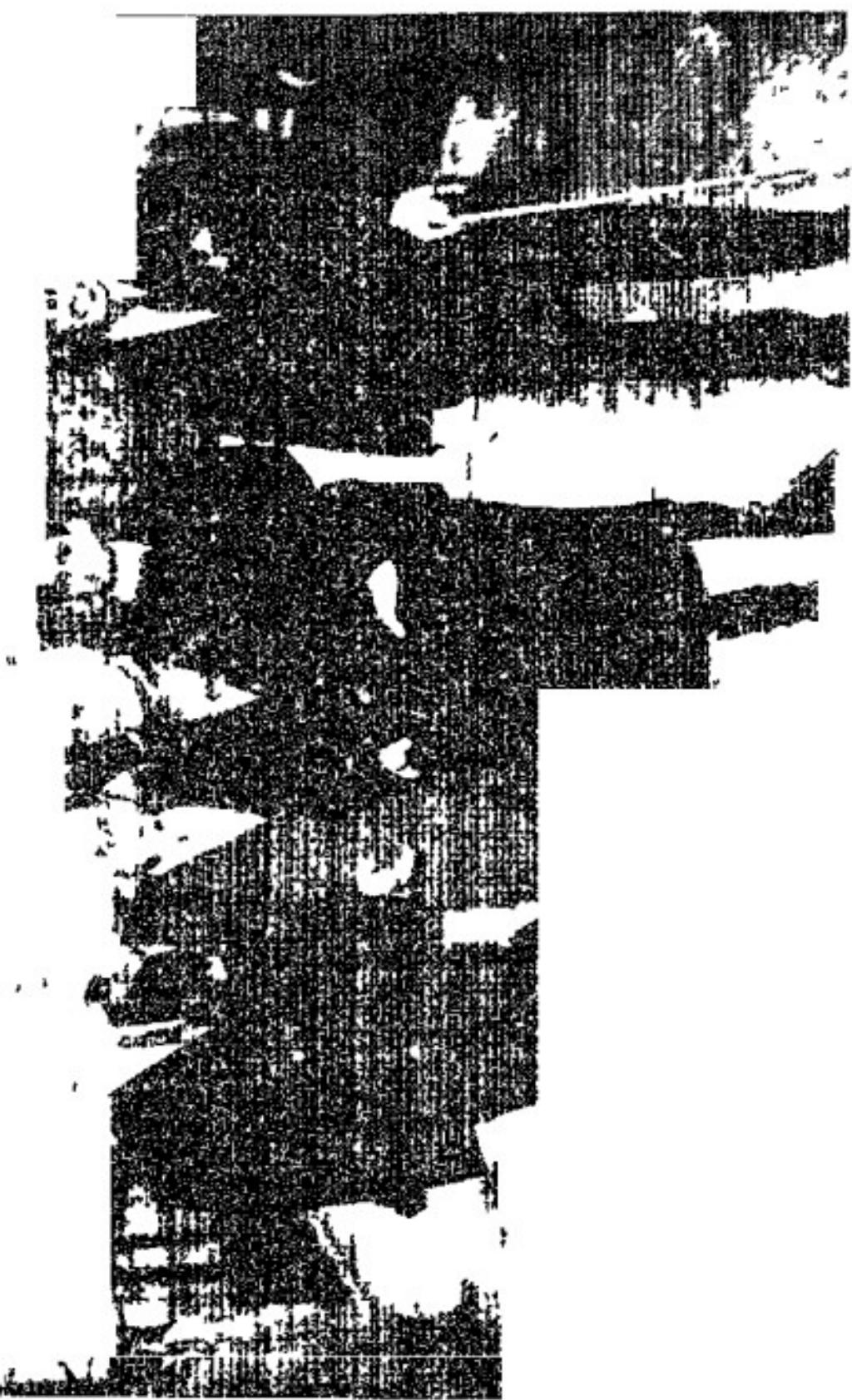




With Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia at a civic  
reception, New Delhi, 11 November 1956



With President Dwight D. Eisenhower and  
Mrs Eisenhower Washington, 16 December 1956



that by their giving military aid to Pakistan they are adding very greatly to our burdens.

14 While the S.E.A.T.O. Pact has attracted much attention recently, on the other side of Asia the Baghdad Pact has had a very bad time. Indeed one might almost think that it has no life left. But for reasons of prestige as well as economic interests, chiefly in connection with oil, it has to be kept up. This Pact has had the most disastrous consequences already for the countries that joined it. The United Kingdom is in desperate straits over it. If they were wise, they would acknowledge their error and try to find some way out. But they are insisting upon it, in spite of every adverse circumstance and begging the U.S.A. to help them in this matter. No doubt the U.S.A. will help, but all the help that they can give cannot make the Baghdad Pact a success. In the final analysis, money does not go very far and it is the people who count. Already in Jordan the people have compelled the King and the Government to keep out of the Baghdad Pact and to dismiss<sup>20</sup> Glubb Pasha.<sup>21</sup> In Iran and Iraq there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the Baghdad Pact. Egypt and Syria and Saudi Arabia are opposed to it and a virulent propaganda has been carried on against the Pact from Cairo.

15 The Baghdad Pact was ostensibly meant to keep out the Communist countries. It has resulted in actually bringing them in into this region. For the first time the Soviet Union has appeared on the scene and it will no doubt have its say. For a long time past this region was under British influence. The Americans came there against the wishes of the British, but they had to be tolerated. Now this new factor appears

20. On 2 March 1956 General John Glubb was by a royal decree pensioned off on being relieved of his duties as the Chief of the General Staff of the Arab Legion. A number of other officers of the Arab Legion were also relieved of their duties

21. Sir John Bagot Glubb (b. 1897). British army officer who served in Arab Legion from 1930, and later as its Commander-in-Chief, 1936-56, author of *The Story of the Arab Legion* (1948), *A Soldier with the Arabs* (1957) *Peace in the Holy Land* (1971) and *Arabian Adventures* (1978)

and the Soviet Union has given notice, one might say, that no decision can be made without its co-operation.

16 The position of the United Kingdom is a peculiarly unhappy one. They have got entangled in the Baghdad Pact and they have made a mess of the situation in Cyprus. In effect, they are powerless to deal with these situations without depending more and more on the United States. This itself indicates that they have not the strength to maintain their old imperial position in these areas or for the matter of that elsewhere. If they lose the oil of Western Asia, this will be a terrible blow to their economic position. Their prestige has already sunk to a low level. Internally, the present Government in the United Kingdom is not in a happy position.

17 France also is facing an exceedingly difficult situation in Algeria.<sup>22</sup> In Morocco and Tunisia, fairly satisfactory settlements have been made.<sup>23</sup> But Algeria is a much more difficult problem because of the presence there of a million and a quarter people of French descent who settled there many generations ago. There is a large army there, but it has been unable to cope with the situation. There is some kind of civil war going on. I found that M. Pineau took a fairly realistic view of this situation which his Government had

22. The Muslim representatives in the French Parliament and in the Algerian municipal councils protested against what they called the "blind repression" unleashed on the Algerian people. Outbreak of violence in Algeria led to indefinite postponement of the Assembly elections and the resignation in early February of General Catroux within a week of his appointment as Governor General. On 13 March, the Emergency Powers Act enabled the Government to deal with the deteriorating law and order situation and to introduce necessary socio-economic and administrative reforms.

23. The French and the Moroccan Governments reached an agreement on 2 March 1956 by which the independence, sovereignty and integrity of Morocco was recognized. On 20 March 1956, France recognized Tunisia's independence and her right to conduct her own foreign policy and form her own army. Both countries agreed to discuss the details of their future co-operation especially in regard to defence and foreign affairs.

inherited. He was prepared to go very far indeed. But the presence of the large number of people of French descent there complicated the problem terribly. Delay in dealing with these North African countries has made the position almost intractable now.

18 Probably one of the most important recent developments has been the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.<sup>24</sup> There can be no doubt that this Congress has deliberately adopted a new line which, in some ways, is entirely opposed to the old Stalinist line. Communists are so tied up with ideological approaches and Communist dogmas that for them to make an important change has a greater significance than elsewhere. They have recognized many things which they had denounced previously. Thus they say that socialism can be of many kinds, that it can be achieved through peaceful methods and through parliamentary forms. All this and more are indications of a gradual return of normality to which I have previously referred. Some people argue that all this might well be an eyewash and not really meant. How far it is sincerely meant or not, I cannot say, though I think it is a natural development and a realistic approach to the conditions of today. But even if there is some doubt about sincerity, the mere fact of making this change is significant and has far-reaching effects.

19 This indicates the resilience and adaptability of the present rulers of the Soviet Union. Compared to this, the attitude of the U.S.A. is much more rigid and has been unrealistic such as in the non-recognition of the People's Government of China and their reliance on reactionary regimes and military factors.

20 Mr. Dulles asked me for my appraisal of this Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party. I told him of my own impressions when I went to the Soviet Union and when Mr.

<sup>24</sup> Held in Moscow from 11 to 25 February 1956: attended by over 1,400 delegates

Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev came to India. Those impressions were that there was a powerful urge towards normality and a lessening of the tensions and high excitement which exist today. The Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party had confirmed these impressions. Oddly enough, Mr. Dulles agreed broadly with my analysis, but he added that the pace of change was likely to be slower than I imagined. It might take a generation before real normality was restored. My view might well be a correct one in the long term, but he, Mr. Dulles, was for the present concerned much more with the short term. The obvious answer was that a short-term policy which does not fit in with a long-term approach and with the progressive changes in the situation, was likely to be unrealistic and to fail.

21 I told Mr. Dulles, of course, about our strong feelings in regard to Goa and what he had said in his joint statement with the Foreign Minister of Portugal. He could give no adequate reply except to say that the Portuguese Foreign Minister wanted him to go much further and he had restrained him.

22. It is difficult for me to give you a detailed account of the long talks we had with Mr. Dulles, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and M Pineau, but I have tried to give you some brief idea about them

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
3 April, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

Events have moved fast and furiously in the world. The most striking has been the 20th Session of the Soviet Communist Party, to which I referred in my last letter. The importance of this session has become even more obvious since then and a good part of the world is wondering what exactly it signifies. Is it a sign of strength or weakness? Is the Soviet structure cracking up and is the line laid down by the 20th Congress an attempt to hold it together? Or is this just a natural development, a process of normalization which always follows big revolutions? Whatever it is, the importance of it from the world point of view is very great.

2 The American point of view is, and this is held, I believe, by Mr. Dulles, that this is due to internal weaknesses and the inability of the Soviet regime to cope with them successfully. An even extremer view is that the Communist system in the Soviet Union is in a bad way and is unpopular. What puzzles people is not so much the broad change in policy indicated by the 20th Congress but the deliberate and rather violent denigration of Stalin.<sup>1</sup> Why was it necessary to blacken Stalin's reputation to this extent, because undoubtedly, this meant blackening their own reputations also to some extent? Had this become necessary because of some pressure

1 At a secret session of the Soviet Communist Party Congress on 25 February 1956, Khrushchev charged Stalin with having abused his powers as party leader to make himself supreme; permitted the execution and imprisonment on false charges of loyal Communists who had opposed his policies relating to agriculture; failed to prepare adequately for the German invasion and promoted the break with Yugoslavia in 1948

in the Soviet Union? Obviously nothing done outside the Soviet Union would produce this

3 I confess I do not understand this sudden change in regard to Stalin. It has been obvious enough in the last two years that the Stalin cult was being played down. This was clear to me when I went there and I also sensed the beginnings of the change of policy in other directions I mentioned this on my return in some of the notes that I wrote Nevertheless, I cannot understand why it was considered necessary or desirable to blacken Stalin's reputation in so many ways. Perhaps there was already a strong feeling in the rank and file to which the leaders thought it wise to give expression. Or perhaps it is the way of leaders of violent revolution to function to go to extremes in whatever they do. Theirs is not to follow the golden mean or the middle path.

4 I cannot believe that the Soviet Union is weak either in the military sense or in the economic sense. Every evidence is to the contrary. Nor do I think that it is frightened of the Western Powers I think that the changes of policy are largely due to normal causes and a reaction from the high tension in which the people of the Soviet Union have lived for many long years. No doubt, it is due also to certain pressures from below, but those pressures themselves were caused by this desire for normality. Anyhow, this is a major turn from the period of active revolution. One might almost say that that revolutionary period is over, at any rate, from any aggressive point of view. The economic gains or changes of the revolution will certainly continue, but the long reign of the secret police and the suppression of every protestant will gradually grow less. Some measure of civil liberties will grow, though the process will be slow. Also, there might be a gradual shift towards the production of consumer goods which the people demand. All this is to the good.

5 The question arises as to what effect this will have on world communism, on China, on other Communist countries and on the many Communist parties in the non Communist countries It is clear that the effect so far

produced has been profound everywhere, and Communist parties have not quite recovered from the shock. It is true that they are lining up gradually behind the Soviet Communist Party in its new garb. It is not clear what the reaction in China has been and how far China is prepared to agree to the abandonment of what has been called "the cult of the individual." In China, Mao Tse-tung is the great and wise leader whose words are always true.

6 Perhaps, while the Soviet Union is receding from the high pitch of revolution, China is still at that pitch and will continue there for some time. Indeed, new developments in China indicate that they are speeding up the processes associated with revolutionary communism. They began with dividing up the land, giving to each family a tiny patch. The next step was the formation of agrarian co-operatives, which spread with amazing rapidity. It is now proposed to take the third step, that is towards collectivization of land. From such accounts as we have, it appears that, while the second step is being completed, the third step is already being organized. It is difficult for me to say how the peasantry of China are reacting to all this, but we have had no information about any obvious adverse reaction. The Chinese Government has taken care that, whatever the change, the actual income of the agriculturist should show an increase. This increase in income is supposed to come from better and more cooperative methods of production. Once the farmer is assured of this increase, apparently he does not care very much about cooperatives or even collectives which deprive him of the ownership of his particular patch.

7 From the point of view of a student of historical changes or of current affairs, this change in Russia is thus of the highest importance, and it will no doubt be followed by far-reaching consequences not only in the Soviet Union but elsewhere. For us, it is interesting to speculate what reaction it will produce on the Indian Communist Party or on the Communist parties of nearby countries in Asia. They will certainly tone down I think in their broad ideological

approach and, perhaps, even in their violence and aggressiveness. But that does not mean that they will become wholly constitutional and peaceful parties, in spite of the new garb they might put on. They have been trained differently, and cannot get rid of the old habits of thought and action. But, I imagine, that the influence of the Soviet Union will be on the side of restraint rather than of aggressiveness.

8. I spoke in Parliament on two occasions<sup>3</sup> recently and said something about my talks with the three Foreign Ministers who came here and referred to a number of world changes.<sup>4</sup> I referred in some detail to Kashmir.<sup>5</sup> What I said there in public in regard to Kashmir, has been said often enough in private. Indeed, I had taken up this line a year ago<sup>6</sup> when the then Prime Minister of Pakistan came here accompanied by Major-General Iskander Mirza. My speech has created something of a sensation not only in India but,

### 3. On 20 and 29 March 1956

4. On 20 March 1956, Nehru strongly criticized both the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts and expressed India's concern at the U.S. arms supplies to Pakistan and its support to Pakistan on Kashmir in the SEATO meeting. He also touched on the Goa question, the situations in East and West Asia, and the changes in Soviet policy announced at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

5. Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on 29 March 1956 that talk of a plebiscite in Kashmir was "entirely besides the point" and there could be no question of holding it until Pakistan had withdrawn all her armed forces from the state. He added that the Kashmir problem had to be viewed afresh because of the American military aid to Pakistan. These factors including Pakistan's joining the Baghdad Pact and SEATO had invalidated the old arguments relating to the question.

6. See *ante* p 182

even more so, in Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> I am glad that we have succeeded in pulling the Kashmir issue out of the ruts in which it had got stuck. This does not mean that we have finished with it. We shall have trouble enough in the future. But everyone will be compelled to think in new terms. My argument, briefly stated, is that we must recognize certain obvious legal and constitutional facts as well as certain important developments that have taken place during the past few years. I have not said that I rule out a plebiscite, but I have said that a plebiscite in existing circumstances is not a feasible proposition and the only practical way of looking at this problem is to accept things as they are with such minor modifications as may be agreed upon, provided we accept the present basis. There can be no doubt that, apart from constitutional developments and innumerable changes that have taken place, the U.S. military aid to Pakistan and S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact have made a vital difference to the situation. We have to consider primarily the good of Kashmir and her people, but we have also to consider the security and defence of India which have been so powerfully affected by these new developments and pacts.

9. Another factor to be kept in view, not only because of its intrinsic importance but because of its wider effect even on Kashmir, is the great exodus of Hindus that is taking place from East Pakistan. This is a major event bringing tremendous consequences in its train both for India and Pakistan. If the present somewhat unsteady equilibrium in Kashmir is upset, what will happen? More migrations on a

<sup>7</sup> Prime Minister Chaudhury Mohammad Ali said on 31 March 1956 that Pakistan would fight till the last for the rights of the people of Kashmir and that they considered "the continued Bharati occupation of Kashmir not only immoral but also illegal." *Dawn* wrote the same day that "everyone irrespective of his status or ideology had only one feeling that of hatred against Nehru who has not only betrayed Pakistan but the whole world." President Iskander Mirza stated on 1 April 1956 that Nehru's statement on Kashmir had shocked and surprised the whole of Pakistan.

great scale, whether to India or to Pakistan, more trouble, more conflicts and more dangers to India.

10 This migration from East Pakistan has become a major domestic issue for us and its international aspect is equally important. None of the suggestions made in Parliament to meet it are at all feasible and yet the continuation of it is also not to be tolerated for long. We have already had four million people from East Pakistan during the past few years. It is true that a considerable number of Muslims have also gone from India to Pakistan during these years. But their number is much less. Four million is about 30% of the total Hindu population as it was at the time of the partition. That total Hindu population was itself about a third of the total population of East Bengal. Is this process going to continue till the remaining eight or nine million Hindus in East Pakistan pour into India? The dimensions of this problem become terrific and there appears to be no easy solution of it. Merely to shout and denounce Pakistan does not help. Indeed, we have arrived at a stage when we should be very careful about denunciations and the like. We cannot afford this luxury when the situation is a serious one and our words must be carefully chosen so as not to make the situation worse.

11 There has been much reference in Parliament and elsewhere to our defence needs and demands have been made that we should strengthen ourselves to meet any emergency that might arise. We are taking some steps to this end. But we must not allow ourselves to be swept away and lose perspective. The strength of a nation depends far more on its economic and industrial development than on arms purchased abroad. Indeed, the whole second Five Year Plan might truly be considered a plan for adding to our defence strength, in addition to raising the standards of our people. All this means that the burden we shall have to carry in the future will be even heavier than we had anticipated. We cannot give up or weaken the second Five Year Plan. Indeed, we may well be compelled by circumstances to add to it.

12 In this context of growing

national and

international, we have to examine our internal problems. It surprises and distresses me that some people should even now carry on an aggressive agitation in connection with the States Reorganization Bill. Whatever the merits of a particular decision might be, it is lack of wisdom to carry on any activity which encourages the spirit of disunity.

13 In the North-East of India, some of the Nagas have started an armed revolt.<sup>8</sup> There is no need for us to get alarmed about this, although it is distressing that some of our countrymen should behave in this way. The real difficulty comes from the nature of the terrain and the lack of communications. We have put the Army in command of these operations, though the civil power will continue to perform its normal functions.

14 The latest of our distinguished visitors from abroad was Mr. Mikoyan, the First Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup> In order of importance, he is said to be No. 3 there, that is, he comes after Mr. Khrushchev and Mr Bulganin. I had very interesting talks with him about recent changes in Russia and our Commerce and Industry Minister<sup>10</sup> also had very useful talks. These are likely to yield substantial results in the shape of trade and development of heavy industry. It is also proposed to have a joint shipping line running between India and the Soviet ports to facilitate exchange of goods.

15 We have been having during the last week a conference<sup>11</sup> of the Heads of our Diplomatic Missions in Asia and Africa. I have given much time to this and all of us who attended it have profited by it. It is important that in

8. The Army was called in early 1956 to curb the growing violent activities of a section of the Naga National Council who had since early 1955 been demanding an independent Naga State

9. He visited New Delhi for four days from 26 March 1956

10. T.T. Krishnamachari (1899-1974). Joined Congress, 1942, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, 1952-56, for Finance, 1956-58, without Portfolio, 1962, for Economic and Defence Coordination, 1962-63 and for Finance 1963-65

11. From 4 March to 8 April 1956

this rapidly changing world we should know each other's mind and have a clear policy.

16. As you know, President's rule has been proclaimed in the Travancore-Cochin State.<sup>12</sup> It is no pleasure to set aside normal constitutional government in any State, but there was no choice left and there was no possibility of any Ministry which could function with stability.

17. While Russia has her own troubles and difficulties, the Western Powers are also facing critical situations. British policy has broken down in Western Asia and in Cyprus<sup>13</sup> France is facing a rebellion in Algeria.<sup>14</sup> In Cambodia, the Prime Minister, Prince Sihanouk, has resigned<sup>15</sup> and openly protested against the pressure exercised upon him by South Vietnam and Thailand as well as U.S.A. In another corner of the world, even little Iceland has called upon the United States to remove their base from the island.<sup>16</sup> The Balkan

12 The Congress Ministry headed by P. Govinda Menon resigned on 11 March when its majority was reduced to a minority in the State Legislature after six Members resigned in protest against the transfer of five Tamil-speaking districts to Madras.

13 The movement for the union of Greece and Cyprus was intensified in February 1956. The Greek Government extended their support to the movement and Archbishop Makarios in a statement on 5 March called upon Greek Cypriots to "continue the struggle for self-determination until the British Government showed respect for our national aspirations." The deportation on 9 March of Makarios with three others resulted in violent anti-British demonstrations and the recall of the Greek Ambassador from London.

14. See *ante*, p. 284

15. Pressures from the United States and France on Sihanouk to give up the policy of non-involvement and protests against his recent visit to Beijing were stated to be the reasons which compelled him to tender the resignation of his Cabinet on 24 March 1956. The resignation was accepted by King Suramarit on 30 March 1956.

16. The Iceland Parliament adopted a resolution on 28 March 1956 calling for the removal of American military forces from the U.S. Air Force base at Keflavik. The Parliament also voted for a revision of the U.S.-Iceland Pact of 1951 which allowed manning of defence installations in Iceland by foreign forces.

Pact which included Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece has practically broken up. Yugoslavia attaches no importance to it now and Greece and Turkey are not on good terms with each other because of Cyprus. The Baghdad Pact, whatever the shouting, was practically still-born. Israel and Egypt hover on the brink of war.

18. Meanwhile experimental explosions of hydrogen bombs are going to take place in spite of protest. America is going to have them somewhere near the Marshall Islands. The U.K. proposes to have it somewhere in Australia and the Soviet Union no doubt will continue her experiments. It is a strange world we are living in.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
10 May, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

It is a long time since I wrote to you. To plead an excess of work would be a poor excuse. It is true that there has been heavy work, but that is not an unusual occurrence. The real reason perhaps has been that I could not develop the mood to write this fortnightly letter to you. The day's work was attended to with more or less efficiency, but to sit down quietly and talk to you, as it were, of the important happenings in the world and in our own country seemed difficult. Normally, I have liked writing these fortnightly letters and to share with you some of my own thoughts. But during these days I could not think how I could say anything worthwhile. I do not wish these letters to become a collection of platitudes or just a statement of odd events, many of which are recorded in the newspapers. If these letters have any value, they must contain something more.

2 It was that something more which I could not get hold of and so I could not develop the mood for writing this. It is true that there has been an abundance of things and events to write about both in our country and abroad. There is no lack of drama in this changing world of ours and, even in India, we live in an exciting age. I have always considered it a great privilege for people of this generation to live during this period of India's long history and to take some little part in the shaping of that story. I have believed that there is nothing more exciting in the wide world today than to work in India. That very thought fills me with vitality and a desire to get the most out of this passing show in our fleeting lives

3 But perhaps there can be too much excitement or the

excitement can be of the wrong kind. As you know, our minds have been unhappily occupied during these past six or seven months with the question of the reorganization of States. It was not a question of high political or economic or social policy which usually stir people's minds. And yet it was a question which moved people powerfully and excited their passions. Those passions were not against an external enemy or some internal evil. They were against each other and the whole fabric that millions had built up by their labour through generations of effort seemed to crack up. Was this some temporary phase, an aberration of the moment, or was there something deeper to it, I do not know. I have tried to believe that this was a relic of the narrow regionalism and parochialism which had been our failing in the past and which were having a final spurt before this ghost was laid.

4 For the moment the ghost is there and we live a somewhat haunted existence. We may well blame each other, but that brings little solace or solution, for, in the context of India, we are all to blame and we have all to suffer the consequences. I have tried to search my mind and heart to find out where I have erred. What should I have done that I have not done and what should I have avoided doing that I have been doing? It is easy to be wise after the event. But the basic fact remains that we have yet to develop a unified nation. We distrust each other and sometimes even dislike each other. Under stress of some calamity or external danger, we may well unite. When that immediate urge is removed, we fall back into our respective shells and lose the sense of the whole. Painfully, we try to get out of these shells and build the unity of India. Step by step we advance and then something happens which lays bare our inner urges and failings. Whether it is caste or provincialism, we still live in a tribal age. Religion was exploited to break up our unity and now language, which should be a binding and ennobling factor, works in the same way. Meanwhile, caste remains to separate us and to encourage narrow groupings.

5 I suppose we shall get over this distemper. But, for the

moment, it results in a high temperature. The fever will go and we shall settle down to something more worthwhile. What tremendous tasks we have undertaken demanding all the strength and energies, and yet we fritter them and waste our substance.

6 Even this would not matter so much if we could face our problems peacefully and democratically, but we seem to live on the verge of violence, often crossing that border line, and threats and coercive methods become the fashion. The very basis of democracy is threatened and our dreams of rapid progress become increasingly unsubstantial. Whatever our differences, there should be common ground about our broad methods, if we are to function democratically. These methods must be peaceful and we must recognize the worth of even those who oppose us, for we have to win them over. We have to learn how to accept decisions which are against us and which we do not like.

7 We had hoped to get the States Reorganization Bill through Parliament during this session and then to set about fashioning the new States. We had drawn up a programme for this, according to which the new States would come into existence at the beginning of October. We were anxious that our general elections should be held at the normal time and should not be postponed. We now find that it is almost physically impossible to get this Bill through Parliament during this session. It would not be proper to rush through this Bill, in Select Committee or in Parliament, without adequate opportunity being given for discussion.

8. The result has been a change in programme. This has not been finalized yet, but it is probable that the next session of Parliament will be held early in the second week of July. Before that date it is expected that the Select Committee will have finished its work. It is hoped that Parliament will finally pass this legislation before the end of July. This will have to include a separate Bill which will come soon relating to Bihar and Bengal. If the final Act is passed by the end of July it may be possible to have the new States begin their fresh career on the 1st November or perhaps even earlier.

This is about a month later than our old programme and we still hope that the general elections will be held by March next year. But the programme is a very tight one and we shall have to work our hardest to give effect to it within the stated time.

9. One piece of good news, which has heartened me, is the passage in the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha of the Hindu Succession Act.<sup>1</sup> This will have to go back to the Rajya Sabha, as the Lok Sabha has made some amendments.<sup>2</sup> But I think we can be fairly certain now that within a few days this Bill will become the law of India. It has had a long and difficult journey and it has changed shape several times. At last we appear to be reaching the end of the journey. This Bill and the Hindu Marriage Act<sup>3</sup> have a peculiar significance, not only because of the changes they bring about but chiefly because they have pulled out Hindu law from the ruts in which it had got stuck and given it a new dynamism. In that sense, the passage of this legislation marks an epoch in India. It indicates that we have not only striven for and achieved a political revolution, not only are we striving hard for an economic revolution but that we are equally intent on social revolution; only by way of advance on these three separate lines and their integration into one great whole, will the people of India progress.

1. The bill was passed by Rajya Sabha on 30 November 1955 and by Lok Sabha on 14 May 1956. See also *ante*, p. 52.

2. The amendment gave the daughter a right of residence in her paternal home, irrespective of whether she had been left a house or not by the husband from whom she had been separated. Till then such a right was vested only in an unmarried daughter, the daughter deserted by her husband, or a widowed daughter. By another amendment the right to dispose of the property by will was not to affect the existing right of maintenance of certain categories of dependants. The Amendment made by Lok Sabha on 8 May 1956 was passed by Rajya Sabha on 15 May 1956.

3. See *ante*, p. 49

10 Some days ago I placed before Parliament a new resolution of the Government of India on industrial policy.<sup>4</sup> We had spent a good deal of time over this. I am very glad that it has met with a favourable response from many quarters including some from which this was not expected. This resolution faithfully brings out our policy which, I think, is a realistic policy and yet essentially dynamic and revolutionary. Our way has been to bring about changes as rapidly as possible and at the same time to keep up the continuity of national life and tradition. This resolution is going to be followed soon by the second Five Year Plan which is meant to give form and shape to it, in as large a measure as our strength and resources and our will to success permit. The National Development Council has already approved of it and after a final revision it is likely to be signed by the members of the Planning Commission within a few days. After that it will be placed before Parliament for its approval.

11 In the course of our discussions in the National Development Council, stress was laid on many aspects and it was pointed out that there was a new emphasis on industrial development,<sup>5</sup> which is so essential if we are to raise our national income and capacity to invest for future development. In particular, heavy industry and the machine-making industry have been emphasized. But in spite of all

4. Enunciating the Government's new industrial policy in the Lok Sabha on 30 April 1956, Nehru said that the State would progressively assume a predominant role and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities. He added "The State will also undertake trading on an increasing scale. At the same time, as an agency for planned national development in the context of the country's expanding economy, the private sector will have opportunity to develop and expand." Importance of the expansion and growth of village industries was also stressed.

5. At the meeting of the National Development Council on 1 May 1956, Nehru said that for achieving real progress in terms of enhancing the wealth of the nation and for generation of employment opportunities as also to maintain the country's freedom industrialization had become imperative.

that we have to do for industry, the fact remains that agriculture is the solid foundation on which we have to build. It is from agriculture and from the increasing production on the land that we can build up our surpluses for future growth. Therefore agricultural production assumes a vital importance. This increase in agricultural yields will necessarily come far more from intensive cultivation than from extending our cultivated area.

12. Our yield per acre today, is, I believe, the lowest in the world. The capacity for increased yield is therefore tremendous. Why should China which is in many ways even less developed than we are, produce double the quantity per acre? Why should Egypt produce fourfold of our production? These are not countries where there is mechanized production and therefore the comparisons are justified.

13. Our original estimate was for a fifteen per cent increase in agricultural production during the second Five Year Plan. This manifestly is too little. The Chinese estimate is between 35 and 40 per cent in five years and they start with a higher yield per acre. There is absolutely no reason why, if we are serious enough and work hard, we cannot equal the Chinese rate of progress in this matter. Our Food and Agriculture Ministry is giving fresh thought to this question and I have no doubt that they will put forward fresh targets much in advance of the old ones. I think that our community projects and national extension service have a very special part to play in increasing agricultural production. They have done wonderful work and begun a new revolution in the countryside. A new spirit is there and a new vitality. We have to turn this more particularly in the direction of intensive cultivation as well as small and cottage industries. The farmer all over the world is not influenced by theories. He only understands something that he sees. If a particular method yields better results and he sees it, then he will copy it. We should therefore have a very large number of demonstration farms. They need not be very big. In fact, each community centre should have at least one such farm, if not more. These selected farms should be carefully worked

so as to calculate the cost and the yield and the final economic results.

14. I have not referred to any international problems although there is no lack of them. Kashmir has again occupied the headlines and it is said that Pakistan is going to bring this question up in the Security Council soon. So far as we are concerned, our minds and our policy are clear now. Unfortunately, during the past eight years, this problem has become covered up with so much argument that the real issues have become hidden. Anyhow we have to take things as they are today and not to be dragged again into interminable debate and protracted negotiations.

15. The recent visit<sup>6</sup> of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to the United Kingdom attracted much attention. In spite of hard language and angry exchanges occasionally,<sup>7</sup> and the vague nature of the joint communique issued at the end,<sup>8</sup> I have no doubt that the visit has done good and helped a little in easing world tension. I would draw your particular attention to the fact that in this joint statement the Five Principles, which have become the basic policy of so many countries, have been mentioned with approval.

6. From 18 to 27 April 1956.

7. On 24 April there had been sharp exchanges between the Soviet leaders and Sir Anthony Eden on the Baghdad Pact when Khrushchev had remarked that the Pact "would die". On most other questions also, and specially on European issues, there was little narrowing of differences. The Soviet leaders also had angry exchanges with the leaders of the Labour Party.

8. The communique of 27 April 1956 mainly dealt with disarmament, Anglo-Russian trade, situation in West Asia, preservation of international peace and good relations between the nations by following the principles of the U N Charter.

16. The dissolution of the Cominform,<sup>9</sup> though expected, is yet another significant step towards a more normal relationship between countries. Unfortunately disarmament has made no progress at all. And yet, I have an impression that even there we are moving forward though very slowly. It is possible that the Soviet Union might do something in this respect unilaterally.

17. As a result of the London meetings, the situation in the Middle East has toned down somewhat, though it continues to be explosive. In Ceylon, there has been a marked change in the Government as a result of the elections<sup>10</sup> and in Burma Prime Minister U Nu's party has won a resounding success.<sup>11</sup>

18. Our President<sup>12</sup> and Vice-President<sup>13</sup> are very much concerned at the fact that many of our valuable old manuscripts, some on palm leaves, are deteriorating and may well be lost for ever. If I may say so with all respect, I entirely agree with them that we should do everything in our power to rescue these wherever they might be at present and to give them proper shelter. The right thing of course would be to build up a proper Indological Institute where all such manuscripts could be preserved and studied. I suggest to you that you might take immediate steps in your State to find out

9. On 17 April 1956, Mikoyan, Deputy Soviet Prime Minister, officially confirmed a press report about the dissolution of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), which had been set up on 5 October 1947 at a secret meeting in Poland of Communist delegates from nine European countries.

10. General elections in Sri Lanka held between 5 and 10 April 1956 resulted in a severe defeat of the ruling United National Party when it lost 46 of the 54 seats which it had won in the previous elections. The People's United Party secured an absolute majority by winning 51 seats. Sir John Kotelawala resigned on 11 April and S. Bandaranaike assumed office on the next day.

11. General elections held on 27 April 1956 resulted in a clear victory for the Government's party called the Anti-Fascist People's League (AFPEL).

12. Rajendra Prasad. For b. fn. See Vol. 2, p. 14.

13. S. Radhakrishnan. For b. fn. See Vol. 1, p. 416.

and make a list of such manuscripts. They may be in libraries, temples and in private houses. If each State helped in this way, it would become easy for the Government of India to collect.

19. In less than two weeks,<sup>14</sup> we are going to celebrate in India and in many places in the world the Buddha Jayanti, the 2500th anniversary of the *Parinirvana*. This is a great occasion for the world. But for us in India it has a special significance, for it is our pride and high privilege to consider the Buddha as our countryman. He belongs to the world, but certainly we are justified in thinking of him as one of ourselves, though infinitely greater and nobler than anyone of us. In this age of the atomic and hydrogen bomb, his message of peace and tolerance shines and brightens up the dark corners of the world where lurk hatred and violence and the spirit of the hydrogen bomb.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

<sup>14</sup> Celebrations were to begin on *Vaisakha Poornima Day 23 May 1956*

# 46

New Delhi  
7 June, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

The attached note<sup>1</sup> about Government's production of penicillin and other antibiotics may interest you. Some of you know all about it already and are actually dealing with our penicillin factory at Pimpri. I am, however, surprised to learn that a number of State Governments are still continuing to buy foreign-made penicillin. This surely is not necessary now, nor is it desirable. Our production of penicillin is considerable and can meet all demands made upon it. It is of high quality. Therefore, I hope that every State Government will now deal with our penicillin factory at Pimpri and not obtain penicillin from private sources.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. The note directed State Governments to secure their requirements of penicillin from the factory set up by the Central Government at Pimpri in collaboration with W.H.O. It assured them that the quality of the drug matched international standards and the price was the lowest compared to prices abroad. The note also said that the factory could meet all their requirements of the drug

New Delhi  
15 June, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

A month and more has passed since I wrote to you my last letter. Within a few days I shall be leaving India for another tour abroad.<sup>1</sup> It is going to be a difficult tour, both physically and because of the problems I shall have to face in various capitals. My main object in going is to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference,<sup>2</sup> but perhaps an even more important visit is to Washington to have talks with President Eisenhower.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the President has fallen ill again and it is doubtful if he will be well enough to have long talks with me. I have not changed my programme because of his illness and I hope to go to Washington. But I rather doubt if the main purpose of the visit will be fulfilled.

2. After Washington I go to Bonn,<sup>4</sup> etc., in West Germany via London. Then a brief visit to Paris<sup>5</sup> and on to Yugoslavia,<sup>6</sup> Cairo<sup>7</sup> and Beirut.<sup>8</sup> Everywhere there are important talks with Heads of Governments on difficult subjects. Apart from my stay in London to begin with, I shall hardly spend two consecutive nights in one place.

1. From 21 June to 22 July 1956.

2. Held from 28 June to 6 July 1956.

3. The proposed visit from 7 to 11 July 1956 was later postponed to December 1956.

4. From 13 to 16 July 1956.

5. On 17 and 18 July 1956.

6. On 18 and 19 July 1956.

7. On 19 and 20 July 1956

8. On 21 July 1956

3 All this will be rather strenuous work, and yet it may well be a change from my normal routine and worries here. India's problems will not leave me wherever I might be. And so, I cannot entirely change the subject of my thoughts, but other occupations and discussions will no doubt be a refreshing change, however arduous they might be.

4 In India the biggest thing we have to tackle and give thought to is the second Five Year Plan and the administrative apparatus that should be adapted to meet the needs of that Plan. It is true that this Plan has attracted widespread attention and everyone says that India is very Plan-conscious. And yet it is also true that recently the dominant news in the newspapers and the minds of many of our people has been the problem of States reorganization and, more especially, the troubles we have had on the Bombay side and in some parts of the Punjab. I hope they will subside. Controversies about such matters are natural and might almost be welcomed. But what has troubled many of us is the way some of our people take to violence when they disagree with a decision. Stone-throwing, often with grievous results, appears to be becoming a fairly usual practice as an expression of disapproval. Arson and more violent attacks also take place. Two days ago in Hoshiarpur in the Punjab a public meeting was being held when it is reported a batch of Jan Sangh people came and started throwing stones.<sup>9</sup> Many were injured and one police constable died of his injuries. In Bombay, when the A.I.C.C. met,<sup>10</sup> there was a good deal of stone-throwing and worse. I was much impressed in Bombay

9. Following the rejection by the Union Home Minister of the demand of the Maha Punjab Samiti for a round table conference on the merger of Pepsu, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, the Samiti workers staged a demonstration at a public meeting organized by the Congress on 13 June 1956 which resulted in a clash between the police and the demonstrators.

10. Violent demonstrations in support of the inclusion of Bombay city in Maharashtra State took place in Bombay when the A.I.C.C. met there for its annual session on 2 and 3 June. As a result of police firing two persons died and 81 sustained injuries. Several shops were also looted.

by the quiet efficiency of the Police. They had to deal with very difficult situations, but they kept their temper and controlled crowds remarkably well. Nevertheless, many prominent visitors to Bombay from other parts of India, apart from residents of Bombay, were injured by these stones and brickbats. If this was meant to convert anyone, it failed signally. If it was intended to be a threat, even so it could not succeed.

5 The All India Congress Committee passed a resolution condemning violence.<sup>11</sup> In this resolution, which you must have seen, the Committee noted with grave concern the increasing tendency in the country towards violence, indiscipline and the lowering of standards of public life and behaviour. There was no reference in it to any particular party or group. Indeed, there was an appeal to the nation and every party and organization in the country to work to overcome these tendencies towards violence and indiscipline and adventurism, because these imperilled democracy and progress. One would have thought that this was a resolution to which no one could take exception. And yet, the Communist Party attacked this resolution in a statement<sup>12</sup> and called upon people to protest against it. This was an extraordinary and yet significant reaction, and it threw a somewhat lurid light on the thinking of the Politbureau of the Communist Party of India. It is well known, of course, that Communists not only do not believe in peaceful methods but consider violent methods as perfectly justifiable. But to defend violence publicly in this manner is a feat which, even for the Communist Party of India, was rather remarkable.

11. On 2 June 1956

12. The statement of 6 June 1956 called upon all democratic elements to protest against the Congress resolution as "the major responsibility for the increasing tendency towards violence, indiscipline, and lowering standards of p bl c life and behaviour lies on the h u ders of the ead rs of the ru ing party

6 I have drawn your attention previously to the major changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. I have no doubt that these changes are very significant and indicate a big step away from the old Communist methods of the Soviet Union and towards a more normal administrative set-up. In some of the East European countries, and notably in Poland<sup>13</sup> these changes have been even more remarkable. Probably Marshal Tito's visit to the Soviet Union<sup>14</sup> will result in a further step in the direction.

7 While this is perfectly true about these Communist countries, the behaviour of Communist Parties in countries where they are in a small minority, indicates no real improvement. There is confusion in their ranks and doubt as to what they should do because of the changes in Russia. Having passionately adhered to the old policies and methods of the Soviet Union, and accepted them as a creed which could not be doubted or challenged, suddenly they find the foundation slipping from under them. Recently, the Communist Party of India had a conference<sup>15</sup> at Palghat in South India. Not knowing what to say clearly and definitely, they produced a resolution<sup>16</sup> which covers fortysix pages of print. I have neither the time nor the desire to read through all these fortysix pages, but I have seen enough to indicate

13 Following Prime Minister Cyrankiewicz' call for a "new democratization of our political and economic life", the Government began releasing on 30 April prisoners under the new amnesty law, announced changes in fiscal policy in favour of peasantry, and introduced changes in trade union leadership.

14 From 2 to 23 June 1956.

15 From 19 to 24 April 1956

16. The resolution welcomed India's new status as the leader of new forces fighting against imperialism and for promoting peace in the world. While appreciating Nehru's stand on Kashmir, Baghdad Pact, and U.S. arms aid to Pakistan, it criticized support of the Commonwealth to Pakistan on Kashmir question and British support to Portugal on Goa. It welcomed the Government's fight against feudal forces and foreign capital, but criticized their failure to fight corruption and inefficiency, and while recognizing Congress as a mass based party cautioned against the feudal elements in it and its so-called goal of socialism.

now utterly confused the Communist Party of India is. That is no concern of mine. But, what does concern me and others is the fact that their standards of action and behaviour do not seem to improve. Indeed, because they have been knocked on the head by certain developments abroad, they have to shout all the more loudly and violently to justify their existence.

8 At the other end of the scale, there are the communal organizations which believe firmly in violence. While India is thinking about great social and economic problems and discussing the second Five Year Plan, these communal parties have nothing to say about social and economic issues. They neither understand them nor care for them. They concentrate on local grievances and indulge in violent activities. Both in Bombay and Maharashtra, and in the Punjab, the R.S.S. has come into prominence in these violent agitations. In the Punjab, the R.S.S. has become indistinguishable from the Jan Sangh, and both flourish under the banner of the Maha Punjab Samiti and rejoice in attacking individuals they do not like and in trying to break up meetings. This is the tactic we have long recognized in fascist parties in other parts of the world. Indeed, the whole outlook of these communal organizations may be described as fascist.

9 It is interesting to know that the Communist Party and the communal parties, far apart as they are supposed to be, have no hesitation in joining hands to oppose the Congress in elections and elsewhere. Neither has any positive policy left and can only function in a negative and usually in a violent way. This tendency towards violence and disruptive tactics raises important issues for us to consider, regardless of party or opinion. It is to this that the Congress resolution drew attention and it is necessary that we should realize how innocent people are misled and exploited for the ends of a few. This has always been the fascist way.

10 There is another aspect of this which deserves attention. Certain foreign individuals and organizations (not Governments) who do not approve of things as they are encourage anything that leads to disruption. Such charges

were made in the recent Burmese elections<sup>17</sup> and similar charges have been made in Ceylon during the language troubles<sup>18</sup> there. I have no doubt that foreign money has come in some way or other to help the Communist Party of India and the communal parties. I need not say that the same source does not feed both of these. Some of our newspapers are not above receiving this type of help in various ways.

II. I suppose that many of our present-day troubles are due to the fact that the general elections are not far off. These troubles might well be considered a prelude and a preparation for them. Many people in the wide world are interested in our coming elections. We have therefore to be wide awake and not be misled by relatively small differences of opinion into taking a path which leads away completely from ordered progress. I remember the awful happenings after partition in 1947-48. I do not mean to say that anything like that is in the air or can happen in India. But the poison is of the same variety and many of the people who created trouble then are again on the war-path, if I may say so. We are apt to take many things too much for granted and to forget that unless certain basic assumptions are agreed to generally, the superstructure that we try to build will have weak foundations. Our views may differ but I am surprised that intelligent persons should encourage activities which only lead, if they succeed, to disaster. Fortunately our people have a good deal of solid commonsense and they have matured. I do not think they can be led away easily, but we have to explain things to them and make them understand. Above all, we have to adhere to certain basic principles of group and personal behaviour and to maintain certain standards. That is more important than some minor advantage or even some victory in an odd election.

17. See *ante*, p.373.

18. Rioting broke out between two main ethnic groups in Colombo on 5 June 1956, the day the House of Representatives debated the Official Language Bill declaring Sinhalese to be the sole official language of Sri Lanka. Rioting spread to other places also in the next few days.

12. There is no lack of criticism and condemnation of Government in the country. Even our friends rejoice in doing this. We should welcome criticism for it helps in keeping us up to the mark. But because of this constant running down of what has been done or is being done, a distorted picture is presented to our own people. Oddly enough, foreigners often see this picture in a better perspective. In other democratic countries, there is plenty of criticism, but there is also pride in achievement and a desire to stand together before the outside world.

13. You may remember that four or five years ago an eminent authority from America, Mr. Paul H. Appleby, spent some months in India, examining our administrative system and produced a report<sup>19</sup> which attracted a good deal of attention. Mr. Appleby came here again two years ago,<sup>20</sup> and he has been here for the third time recently. On each occasion, he did not come here just as a tourist, but as a keen observer and spent some time in finding out how we were functioning. He has just produced another report after his third visit. I hope you will get this soon, and I would particularly invite your attention to it. He has criticized our administrative system sometimes in strong language and has pointed out how, as it is today, it is not adequate for the great tasks we have to face. We welcome his criticisms and I hope we shall profit by them. But, his overall view of India today is at least as important as his detailed criticisms. This overall view is given in the first few paragraphs of his report. I quote them below:

Intervals of about two years between three successive visits to India provide a perspective in which achievements of the new nation appear with a clarity perhaps otherwise not possible. The achievements thus visible are enormous, of a size and quality probably never before or elsewhere approached together. The democratic character of India does not permit the ruthless disregard

<sup>19</sup> See Vol 3 pp 296-297 413-414 424-427

<sup>20</sup> See Vol 3 p 482.

of immediate mass interest that has characterized efforts elsewhere which otherwise might be regarded as similar India has been both building and serving democratic values while at the same time engaging in a monumental programme of economic development. Facing tremendous need and many great difficulties, both primary objectives have been served convincingly with vision, wisdom and hard practical performance. The two five year plans have been brilliantly conceived in their analysis of needs and their balancing of values Understanding leadership in the field of financial policy has been as outstanding in this latter, much more complex period, as that of Alexander Hamilton<sup>21</sup> in the early days of the United States. Most of the programmatic fields have been well directed, and the community development programme as a whole has been successful far beyond any reasonable expectations.

Yet in the face of these achievements, one finds in Parliament, in the Press, in the Universities, and in many conversations that citizens of pretension, cultivation and influence voice criticisms which tend to suggest a sense of failure and a lack of confidence Criticisms that would be appropriate enough as counsels of improvement (which is ever to be had and always desirable) are made in such sweeping and extravagant terms, and in terms so little recognizing the nature and means to administrative improvement, as to be damaging and threatening of increasing damage to India's great march forward. One is moved to observe that India's greatest need is for a sense of certainty concerning her own success.

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14. Since I wrote to you last, the session of Parliament ended after some months of heavy and continuous work.<sup>2</sup> Many important pieces of legislation were passed. Perhaps at a later time, the outstanding achievement of this session and the previous one will be the passage of the Hindu Law Reform Bills.<sup>23</sup> They are not in any way revolutionary in the changes they bring about and yet there is something revolutionary about them. They have broken the barrier of ages and cleared the way somewhat for our women-folk to progress. I have long been convinced that a nation's progress is intimately connected with the status of its women. I have admired the womanhood of India. They played a great part in our struggle for freedom and today they are playing an increasing part in the innumerable activities of the nation. I do not admire many rather frivolous and vulgar aspects that are evident today. But, we must not be led away by this and ignore the great changes that are coming over our women. They are doing good work in the professions, in the sciences, in the Services, and elsewhere. They are adapting themselves to the new conditions of life, without uprooting themselves from the soil that has nurtured them. No revolution can be complete if it is only political. The essence of a revolutionary change is the economic aspect and, I believe, we are moving at a fair pace. The social aspect is indicated by these reforms in the Hindu Law, more especially relating to women.

22. Lok Sabha on 30 May 1956 and Rajya Sabha on 31 May 1956.

23. The Hindu Succession Bill was passed by Lok Sabha on 15 May and by Rajya Sabha on 8 May 1956; the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill was passed by Lok Sabha on 17 July and by Rajya Sabha on 2 August 1956; and Hindu Law of Adoption and Maintenance was passed on 29 October by Rajya Sabha and on 14 November 1956 by Lok Sabha.

15 I have referred above to the agitation in some parts of the Punjab over the regional formula.<sup>24</sup> I have criticized it on several occasions and said that I cannot remember having seen a more misguided or misconceived agitation. I do not expect everyone to agree with me or with our Government, but one does expect a modicum of intelligence in understanding and appraising any step taken. I regret that this is completely absent today in the Punjab among those who are getting so vastly excited about the regional formula. That formula flows almost inevitably from the basic approach in regard to language that has been laid down in the final chapters of the States Commission's report regarding safeguards for linguistic minorities. It is in line with the policy laid down during the last few years by the Congress and by the Punjab and Central Governments. The details of this regional formula have not been worked out even yet, though the broad principles are there. What then is all this shouting and thumping about, not to mention the stone-throwing? I really cannot understand. Then there is the loud demand for a Maha Punjab including Himachal Pradesh. If there is one thing that is quite clear, it is this that the people of Himachal Pradesh do not want to be merged into the Punjab. In fact they resent the idea. Are we to compel them simply because the Maha Punjab group so desired? The entire regional formula of the Punjab is on a line with the

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 24. The Akalis who were demanding a Punjabi-speaking State agreed in March 1956 to a merger of the States of Pepsu and Punjab with two regional standing committees one each for Hindi and Punjabi-speaking areas to deal with specified matters. To oppose this, the Maha Punjab Samiti gave a call on 28 May 1956 for direct action and demanded merger of Pepsu, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh as recommended by the States Reorganization Commission. The Communists demanded Hindi-speaking State of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and a Punjabi-speaking State and the Praja Socialist Party and other Socialists demanded merger of Pepsu and Punjab, and Greater Delhi, or as an alternative, the formation of Haryana, with a Governor High Court and a Public Service Commission for all the three States.

regional formulas we have suggested to some other parts of India.

16 Last month<sup>25</sup> we celebrated the Buddha Jayanti or the 2500th anniversary of the *Parinirvana*. I was very happy to notice how this was celebrated in many parts of India. And yet all the time I feel the contrast between what we said and what many of us did.

17. Pakistan goes from bad to worse, both politically<sup>26</sup> and economically. In East Pakistan there is famine. We have gladly made a generous gift of 5000 tons of rice to relieve somewhat the famishing people of East Pakistan. Politically there is trouble all over Pakistan and instability. And yet all this has not lessened the animus of some of the leaders of Pakistan and the Press against India. They still talk of war and American military supplies pour into Pakistan. This should at least induce us in India to hold together and not to encourage disruption and discord.

18 In the outside world, perhaps Algeria presents the most dismal and difficult problem. We made some suggestions,<sup>27</sup> keeping in view the difficulties of both sides. Thus far neither side has accepted them, though they have not rejected them either. A time will come, I have no doubt, when the broad line we have suggested will have to be adopted. Meanwhile, mutual killing goes on and tragedy overshadows the land.

19. Recently we decided to establish diplomatic relations with Spain.<sup>28</sup> Some people have thought that a clever move

25. On 23 May 1956.

26. After the introduction of the federal constitution in March 1956, party dissidence was acute in both East and West Pakistan.

27. On 22 May 1956, Nehru informed Lok Sabha of his proposals to the French and the Algerian nationalists which included a declaration on both sides of ending violence, recognition by France of Algerian independence, and recognition by the Algerian nationals of Algeria as their motherland notwithstanding their racial and ethnic differences, and direct mutual negotiations on the basis of these proposals.

28. This was announced simultaneously from Madrid and New Delhi on 25 May 1956.

to influence the Catholic world in regard to Goa. Some people have also thought that my reply to a question in Parliament about Chitral<sup>29</sup> was also a Machiavellian move in relation to the Kashmir problem.<sup>30</sup> I am afraid, I am not clever enough, nor have I the makings of a Machiavelli. The question of having diplomatic relations with Spain had been with us for a year or two. For many years we refused to have them because of our dislike of the regime there. You will remember how we sympathized in 1937 and after with the Spanish Republic.<sup>31</sup> Even the U.N. at one time asked its members not to have relations with the present Spanish Government.<sup>32</sup> But later when in recognizing the People's Government of China, we laid down the principle that a stable Government should be recognized whether we agreed with it or not, it became difficult for us to deny recognition to Spain.

20 So far as the Chitral question is concerned, it was put to us in the ordinary course in Parliament and I had to give a correct reply from the legal and constitutional points of view. There was nothing very clever about it. I have been as frank as any one can be in regard to Kashmir. I have indicated the utmost limits to which we can go. Having done so, we adhere to our full position and I see no reason why we should qualify it. There is some talk of Pakistan raising this matter again in the Security Council. It appears

29. In reply to a question on 26 May 1956, Nehru stated in Lok Sabha that despite West Pakistan Act of 1955 which incorporated Chitral into the province of West Pakistan the Government of India continued to regard suzerainty of Jammu and Kashmir as extending over Chitral

30. This was suggested by Taya Zinkin in *Manchester Guardian* on 29 May 1956.

31. Nehru and the Congress had extended their support to the Republican Government in their fight against the Nationalists under General Franco who eventually succeeded in defeating the popular Government in 1939

32. The U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 1946  
r g to States to recall their Ambassadors from Madrid  
was revoked in November 1950

that the U.K. and the U.S.A. are trying to dissuade Pakistan from doing so or at least wanted it postponed. I suppose some time or other it will come up before the Security Council. I am not greatly concerned about it, as our case is strong enough.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
26 July, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

Our Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur,<sup>1</sup> has written to me on the prohibition policy which is being pursued by the Delhi State Government. I do not know much about this. We are all, of course, in favour of prohibition, but there is always one danger in pursuing a policy of prohibition. We might encourage illicit distillation and bootlegging. That remedy is worse than the disease.

The Health Minister has also laid stress on this matter, and she says that already some illicit distillation has begun and bootleggers are waiting for the final ban in order to increase this illicit distillation.

I hope that your Government will keep this aspect fully in view. It is better to go a little slowly and lay the foundations of a firm policy rather than create fresh evils. It was because of this reason that the Planning Commission, after long discussion, felt that no rigid line should be laid down and progress should be firm, even though slow.

You might, therefore, discuss this matter with your Government so as to avoid taking any steps which lead to wrong results.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

<sup>1</sup> For b/fn see Vol 1 p 364

New Delhi  
12 August, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I must apologize to you for not having sent you the usual fortnightly letter for a long time. Indeed, even now, I do not consider this particular letter as a normal fortnightly one. I was away, as you know, for a month. Since my return,<sup>1</sup> I have been overwhelmed with work. And so, although I wanted to write to you about many matters, including of course my visit abroad, I have been unable to do so.

2 I am writing today, more particularly, about one special subject. This is about agricultural production, especially food production. Soon after my return from abroad, I learnt of the Conference of Central and State Ministers of Agriculture, which was held at Mussoorie at the end of June<sup>2</sup> of this year. A brief account was sent to me, and this was followed by a longer report.

3 I was distressed by this report and by what some of the Ministers of Food and Agriculture from the States said at this Conference.<sup>3</sup> Reading a report of their remarks, I felt that they had probably not cared to read our second Five Year Plan report. This applies more especially to the reaction of

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1 On 22 July 1956.

2 From 28 June to 1 July 1956.

3 While the Planning Commission estimated that the level of agricultural production could be increased by 40% with the allocations already made, State Ministers and the Union Agriculture Minister thought that only 25% increase could be achieved if an additional sum of Rs. 108 crores was provided. There was also disagreement on fixation of

some of the Members of the Conference<sup>4</sup> to cooperative farming.<sup>5</sup> I am astonished that any person in India should consider cooperative farming inadvisable or not feasible. If there is one thing that is generally recognized all over the world today, it is this: that cooperative farming is essential, both from the economic and the social points of view. It is true that from the economic point of view, a large farm will also be very productive. But once we give up these large farms, and have relatively small holdings or farms, then it becomes inevitable for co-operation between a number of small farmers. This is the economic aspect.

4 From the social point of view, cooperative farming is equally necessary. We talk about a cooperative commonwealth. What exactly does this mean? In the world of today, there is an inevitable tendency for everything to be done on a larger and more centralized scale. This has certain advantages, but it has also many disadvantages, more especially if these large-scale operations are controlled by a few private individuals.

5 We talk of decentralization, and I think in many ways we should encourage this. But, decentralization by itself is not likely to succeed unless we bring into it the advantages of large-scale cooperative working through cooperative processes. The alternative is State ownership.

6 To say, as some people do, that the Indian farmer is too much accustomed to his old methods and is not prepared to change them, does not help at all. If he will not change his methods, his lot will become harder and harder, and he will go to the wall. Our farmers, even though they might not be well-educated, are intelligent enough to understand when

4. A Conference of Ministers of Co-operation was also held at Mussoorie from 1 to 4 July 1956.

5. While setting up of a cooperative farm in each of the 500 national extension service blocks and credit societies to help such activity was favoured by the State Ministers, they argued against cooperative farming as it would render the cultivators mere wage labourers and curb their initiative.

something is explained to them. But, apart from this, we have no other choice but cooperative farming. The real alternative is collective farms owned by the State, which most Communist countries have. That, I take it, is further removed from the old customs and habits of the Indian farmer, to which a reference is made.

7. I have not heard of the argument that we should not increase our railway system or even scrap the railways that we have, because the Indian farmer is used to the bullock cart. We live in a different age and, indeed, even the age we live in is, perhaps, ending before long, to give place to yet another age, the atomic age. If we are not wide awake to these obvious facts, then we fail as a nation and as individuals.

8. I am convinced that it is essential for us to have cooperative farming. There are, of course, many types of cooperative farming, and we need not be rigid about a particular kind. But the principle and the essential elements of practice have to be accepted and acted upon. It has also to be remembered that, in the world of today, the pace is fast. Those who lag behind get left to fend for themselves in a world against them. Therefore, these changes to bring about cooperative farming cannot be slow. No doubt, they take some time, but we have to work hard for them.

9. Even as I write this, a delegation of ours<sup>6</sup> is visiting China to enquire especially into the very rapid growth of cooperatives there. Within two or three years, millions of cooperative farms have sprung up there. Now, they are being converted into collectives. We do not want to go in that direction. But the forces at work which are driving China in that direction, a vast agricultural population, the need for greater production, etc.—are at work in India, and we have to find some solution. After a great deal of thought and consideration of this problem, we have definitely come to the conclusion in the second Five Year Plan and, indeed, in

6. It was led by R.K. Patil, who had resigned from the Indian Civil Service and took an interest in agriculture

the earlier one also, that we must have cooperative farming. At this stage, for anyone to challenge this surprises me.

10 The other and even more important problem is greater agricultural production and, more particularly, food production. I find from the report of the Mussoorie Conference a singular lack of appreciation of the urgency of this matter. Many Agricultural Ministers take it for granted that additional funds are available. I dispute that argument and, certainly, it is not an admitted proposition. It may be, of course, that, with some more money thrown in, we can achieve more results. But that is begging the question. We cannot create money out of nothing, and we have gone as far as we could possibly go in estimating our resources for the second Five Year Plan. We dare not increase them, unless we make good in the first two or three years to such an extent that we can confidently take a further step even within this second Plan period. The problem before us is to increase our food production considerably within the limits of the resources provided for in the Plan.

11 I am sometimes told that our calculations have been carefully made and are based on expert opinion. How, then, can we challenge them? All honour to the experts. I believe in expert knowledge, but I believe even more in solving a problem than in giving an expert excuse for not solving it. After all, there are other countries in the wide world, which have dealt with similar problems. Why have they done much better than we have done or than we think of doing? Are human beings in other countries made of a different mould or is it that experts there are different? I am sorry that I am writing strongly in this matter. But I have to do so as I feel very strongly. I think that many of us, and more especially our experts, have got into a groove and a rut of thought which is peculiarly unhelpful. We shall have to get out of that rut and be a little more active and original in our thinking. Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention. Is it that most of us, including the experts do not feel this terrible pressure of necessity and therefore do not care to think harder than they do?

12. One thing is patent. The entire future of our second Five Year Plan depends upon our agricultural production. It is only the increase in this agricultural production that will give us the resources to fulfil that Plan or even go ahead. If that fails us, the Plan fails, and the future of India is dark. This applies to all agricultural production, more especially if it applies to foodgrains because they are the basis of life here. It is bad enough that India, an agricultural country, has to import foodgrains. It would be worse if we do not get over this in the near future and have surpluses which will give a basic strength to our economy.

13. How, then, are we to increase this production? We know for a fact that some other countries have rapidly increased their food production in the last few years without any tremendous use of fertilizers. How has China done it? China's resources in this respect are not bigger than ours. China is at the same time laying far greater stress on industrial development and heavy industry than we are. Yet, they are succeeding in increasing their agricultural production at a faster pace than we are. Surely, it should not be beyond our powers to do something that China can do.

14. We are using our fertilizers and they have helped us to increase our production. We may use them more. But it is a very doubtful matter how far chemical fertilizers by themselves are good in the long run. We are laying far too much stress on chemical fertilizers. Few people talk about compost and manures and the like, although these can be made available in large quantities if we try hard enough. The great advantage that China has is the use of such natural manures.

15. I am not writing a technical treatise on this matter. But what I am venturing to do is to draw your attention to the extreme urgency of this problem. I am convinced that we can solve it and that we can do so without any large additional expenditures. We really have not seriously taken it up. I understand that in our community projects, the increased food production during the first Five Year Plan period was about twenty five per cent. This was brought about without any great strain or effort. If that was so surely we can expect

a thirty per cent increase with a little more effort in these areas. In the course of the second Five Year Plan, we intend to cover the country with community projects and national extension schemes. In all these areas, therefore, the increase should certainly be thirty per cent.

16 This means, of course, that our community projects and national extension schemes must be directed deliberately to this end. Further, there must be full coordination of the various Departments of Government. It is ultimately intensive cultivation that will make a major change in India. A little addition in the area of cultivation, though welcome, makes little difference.

17 I would beg of you to give thought to these matters and to share this letter of mine with your other Ministers and more especially your Agriculture Minister. The experts who advise you in these matters, should be asked to wake up and look at reality and not live in some text-book world. Also, they must not think in terms of America and England, but in terms of India and the problems we have to face

18 As I write to you, the world is faced by one of the most serious crises which we have had during the past few years. This is the Suez Canal issue.<sup>7</sup> The next week or ten days will indicate which way the world goes, towards conflict or away from it. This itself indicates how dangerously we live constantly on the edge of a precipice. We grow complacent and waste our time in petty disputes and arguments and sometimes writing long notes on files. In this dangerous world, the complacent and those with parochial minds have little place.

7. On 26 July, in reply to the refusal of the United States to finance construction of the Aswan Dam, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal Company, froze all its assets and funds, and agreed to pay compensation to shareholders as per market rate. The decision was criticized by Britain and France who in retaliation froze all assets of the nationalized Company and banned all trade transactions with Egypt. The U.S.A., Britain and France announced that an international conference on Suez would be organized in London from 16 August to consider establishment of an international body or agency to keep the Canal free for traffic.

19. After a great deal of trouble and conflict and violence we thought we had arrived at a haven in regard to the States Reorganization Bill. Nobody calls it an ideal solution of every problem. But I do believe that it is, by and large, a good solution. It is always possible to rectify minor errors later. The major decision about a composite Bombay State suddenly made a great change in the whole approach.<sup>8</sup> We rejoiced at this change and the new atmosphere that had been created. Even as we rejoiced, violence and arson spread in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat,<sup>9</sup> and blood was shed. No greater warning of the dangers that surround us could have come to us than this from the old home town of Gandhiji. All of us will have to do a great deal of heart-searching. Where is the country going to, if we relapse into violence at every provocation or petty irritation? Unfortunately, there are some political parties which rejoice when this kind of violence takes place and which encourage it. This is called by them encouraging militancy in politics. Our young men and women, on whom the burden of running this country will inevitably be cast, go out into the streets and are "militant" and burn and destroy. Our poor policemen are attacked as if the police are responsible for the decisions of Parliament. If this is the normal atmosphere of our country, then we speed towards chaos.

20. We talk bravely of the *Panchsheel* in the wide world and of peaceful co-existence. In our own country, we act in a contrary way.

21. I am disturbed and distressed by all this, as you must be and yet, my mind then goes to the great constructive work

8 On 2 and 3 August about 220 Members of Parliament in Lok Sabha, in a memorandum to Government, proposed a bigger bilingual state of Bombay to include Saurashtra, Kutch, and Vidharbha as a solution to the tangled issue of Bombay city. The proposal was accepted by the Government on 6 and by Lok Sabha on 9 August 1956.

9. Violent demonstrations to protest against the proposal for Bombay took place from 8 August in Ahmedabad and several other places in Gujarat resulting in a deaths and injuries to many people

that is being done in India, our vast developmental programmes, our scientific advance and the millions of people who are building up new India. As a symbol of this great advance, came the other day the news that our atomic reactor had reached criticality and was producing atomic energy.<sup>10</sup>

22 In the world, our prestige stands high and we are respected among other nations. When a crisis occurs, many look to us to find some way out, because we have gained a reputation for some maturity in thought, some wisdom and a capacity not to lose our heads when a difficult situation comes. Yet many lose their tempers and their heads over the pettiest matters inside our country.

23 There is this race between the forces of peace and progress and friendly co-operation and development and building up and the other dark forces which think in terms of violence and conflict, of destruction and disruption and chaos. It is no good our drifting. We have to take our firm stand and adhere to it and make it clear to everyone in this country what stuff we are made of.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10 The atomic reactor near Trombay the first in Asia went into operation on 4 August 1956

New Delhi  
16 August, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

I am attaching to this letter a somewhat belated note on my tour abroad in June-July last.

2. On the very day of my return to Delhi from my tour, I was faced with the resignation of a colleague, the Finance Minister. This was not entirely unexpected, as there had been some reference to it before I left Delhi,<sup>1</sup> but to be faced with it on my arrival here was slightly disconcerting. I dislike parting with colleagues. If this has to be done, it should be done with grace and goodwill. Unfortunately both were lacking in the present instance.

3. I was charged by Shri C.D. Deshmukh with various sins of omission and commission and notably with bypassing the Cabinet in arriving at important decisions. It was not becoming for me to refer to Cabinet decisions<sup>2</sup> in reply or to prolong this unseemly debate. But I might inform you that I referred this matter to my colleagues in the Cabinet subsequently and they were unanimously of opinion that Shri Deshmukh's charges were not justified. Apart from numerous discussions we had in the Cabinet about the States

1. C.D. Deshmukh had resigned on 18 June, but was asked by Nehru to continue till he returned from his foreign tour.

2. On 25 July, Deshmukh stated in Rajya Sabha that he had resigned because he did not wish to share the responsibility of Government's action of separating Bombay city from Maharashtra and criticized Nehru for making an announcement on the future of Bombay city without taking the Cabinet into confidence and for bypassing the Lok Sabha which was seized of the matter

reorganization in all its aspects, the final draft Bill was placed before it on two occasions and passed. On both these occasions Shri Deshmukh was present.

4 He referred also to a much earlier matter, the decision about the formation of the Andhra State. This decision had been formally taken by the Cabinet even before Shri Deshmukh joined the Government. There was a reservation to it in regard to Madras City. The moment this difficulty was removed, the decision came into effect and I answered a question accordingly in Parliament.

5 It is possible that some minor decisions may be made by any Minister without particular reference to his colleagues in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, it has been our practice here to refer every important matter to the Cabinet and in regard to other matters there is usually consultation between Ministers concerned. We have numerous Cabinet Committees at work. I have attached great importance to this practice of frequent consultation, not only because of constitutional requirements but because I think it is essential for a Cabinet to work as a team and to be acquainted with what is happening. Indeed, you might remember that I have sometimes drawn the attention of Chief Ministers to this matter and suggested to them to have frequent consultations formally or informally with their colleagues.

6 For the time being, I have taken the Finance portfolio myself. I have the help of two Ministers of State, Shri M C. Shah<sup>3</sup> and Shri A.C. Guha<sup>4</sup> as well as a Deputy

<sup>3</sup> Manilal Chaturbhaji Shah (1894-1960). Lawyer and Congressman from Gujarat; President, Ahmedabad Municipality, 1936-42; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-49, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, of Rajya Sabha, 1952-60; Deputy Minister of Finance, 1952-54, Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Finance), 1954-57.

<sup>4</sup> (1892-1983). Congressman from West Bengal; Member A.I.C.C. from 1938, Member, Constituent Assembly 1947-49, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52 Lok Sabha 1952-67 Deputy Minister for Finance 1953-54 Minister of State of Revenue and Defence Expenditure Finance 1954-57

Minister.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, it means an additional burden on me. This does not matter so much, but I am anxious that this important portfolio should have justice done to it and it is obvious that I cannot continue as acting Finance Minister for long. We have to face difficult problems in which Finance is intimately concerned. There is the rise in prices<sup>6</sup> and the possibility of inflation. There is nothing to be alarmed about this at present. But the greatest care has to be taken to prevent any untoward happening. Then there is the rapid depletion of our foreign exchange resources owing to large demands for machinery, etc.<sup>7</sup> All these are basic to our Plan and to our future progress and I seek your active and earnest co-operation in these matters.

7 I sent you a letter a few days ago about food production and drew your attention to the urgency of this question. It hurts me to see that our foreign exchange resources have to be spent in importing foodgrains.<sup>8</sup> And yet this has to be done because we lack them and can take no risk in this direction. But it is not merely a question of having just enough for our requirements. We have to increase our agricultural production even for purposes of export so that this may help us in adding to our resources. This is of vital importance.

8 Of the many things that have happened in India during the past three weeks, three are perhaps the most important

5. Bali Ram Bhagat (b. 1922) Congressman from Bihar, Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Lok Sabha, 1952-77, and again since 1980, Speaker, 1976-77, Parliamentary Secretary, 1952-55; Deputy Minister for Finance, 1955-63; Minister for Planning, 1963-66, for Defence, 1967, for External Affairs, 1967-69, 1985-86, of Foreign Trade and Supply, 1969-70, for Steel and Heavy Industry, 1970-71.

6. The whole-sale price index with 1939 as base, rose from 376.0 in January 1956 to 404.2 in July 1956.

7. During the first Five Year Plan the net fall in the foreign exchange reserves was Rs. 73.12 crores, and foreign exchange reserves stood at Rs. 761.74 crores. There was also a fall in sterling balances.

8. Later on 20 August, the Lok Sabha passed Supplementary ~~Demands~~  
totalling Rs. 89.65 crores of which Rs. 80.48 crores for additional import of foodgrains.

There has been with us the States Reorganization Bill<sup>9</sup> dealing with a matter which has led to so many upheavals in some parts of the country. There is, in foreign affairs, the Suez Canal issue<sup>10</sup> which has suddenly confronted the world with a dangerous crisis. Today the London Conference must have met and we should know in a few days the result of this Conference. The third matter is of no immediate significance but of great importance for our future. That is the production of atomic energy in India<sup>11</sup>—the first time in Asia.

9 I shall not write here much about the Suez Canal issue. What I write might well be out of date by the time you get this letter. But, you will observe that, whether we wish it or not, a heavy burden has again fallen upon us, and many countries look to us for help in finding a peaceful solution.<sup>12</sup> We have sent a strong team to the London Conference, led by Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. Apart from his great ability, he has a remarkable capacity for dealing with situations of this kind. It was partly due to his efforts that success came in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and in the earlier Korean negotiations. But, we must realize that this is far the most difficult task that we have undertaken in international affairs.

10 In the relatively brief history of our Parliament, there

9. The Bill was passed by Lok Sabha on 10 August and by Rajya Sabha on 25 August 1956.

10. See *ante*, p. 395.

11. See *ante*, p. 397

12. Nasser clarified to Nehru on 4 August that Egypt was opposed to imposition of any international authority over the Canal but would agree to sign an international treaty assuring security and freedom of navigation to users of the Canal. The same day, Zhou Enlai told the Indian Ambassador in Beijing that People's China supported the Indian stand and expected India to play an important role at London. Two days later, the Prime Minister of Indonesia asked India to pressurize Britain not to resort to use of arms. On 7 August, Eden wrote to Nehru that India's participation would be of utmost help to Britain in ~~ng a~~ ent fair to both sides

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have been no such dramatic developments as in the case of the States Reorganisation Bill. Up to the 2nd August, we were fully committed to the Bill as originally framed, that is, separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat and Centrally administered Bombay State. Rather suddenly, on the 2nd August, some private members of Parliament, without distinction of party, got moving. This kind of thing is very unusual in any Parliament and, while I respect the initiative of private members, I am not sure that this business of getting signatures is a wholesome one. Nonetheless, I must admit that, on this occasion, it yielded rich results and created a situation which the Government could not ignore. Indeed, we did not wish to ignore it either, because it was in line with our own thinking. Our only difficulty had been the lack of agreement among the parties concerned. And so, within a few days, this major change was made, debated and passed by the Lok Sabha. At the conclusion of the third reading, there was not even one dissentient voice raised. That was an extraordinary culmination of the fierce and angry debates and all the upheavals and riots that had taken place during the past many months.

11. I have no doubt that this was a right solution and there was a sigh of relief not only in Parliament but in many parts of the country, as if a burden had been lifted.

12. We were a little premature, however, in our rejoicing, and in Ahmedabad especially and in some other parts of Gujarat, trouble flared up.<sup>13</sup> Some dissatisfaction, some demonstrations were to be expected. But, for rioting on a major scale and arson, none was prepared. It was peculiarly distressing that this strong and disciplined province of Gujarat, with its long traditions so intertwined with Gandhiji and historic movements, should fall a prey to this crude violence.

13. This particular phase will pass, but every thinking person in India must be wondering in what direction we are

<sup>13</sup> See ante p. 396

going. In Ahmedabad, the vast body of textile workers kept away from rioting and violence. It was apparently mainly the students who took the lead. What exactly has happened to our young men and young women that they should act in this distressing way? There are, of course, people who exploit and encourage this. But there must be some deep malaise for this kind of thing to occur. We talk of indiscipline, but the gravest of all indisciplines is emotional indiscipline which upsets the balance of the individual. We have seen in India these emotional upheavals and, what is worse, we have seen them take to violence.

14 Able observers from abroad have visited India recently and given us their appraisals of our work. We have had the Appleby Report,<sup>14</sup> to which I would draw your particular attention, the Wilson<sup>15</sup> Report<sup>16</sup> about our community projects and national extension service and many other reports. In foreign countries there is a keen and vivid interest in India's development plans as well as in India's role in international affairs. What is all this worth to us if we lack confidence in ourselves and have no standards of behaviour?

15 Most intelligent observers tell us that the next five or ten years are of vital importance to India and, in a sense, to the world, because India will make a difference to the world. If we do not make good during this period, we go down. We are no longer carrying on a static existence at a low level. There is a dynamism in India, and we are playing for high stakes, to win or lose. At no time in India's history was a

14. See *ante*, pp. 382-383.

15. M.L. Wison (1885-1969). U.S. agricultural economist and administrator; Under Secretary of Agriculture, 1934-40; director of extension work, 1940-54.

16. The Report said "a great deal of social invention and new creative thinking has gone into the movement in India," and hoped that "people's programme" would take over "administered government programme." It appreciated the work of Block Development Officers and hoped that the individual farmer would really stand the cooperative idea and participate freely in the tic pr

concentrated and cooperative effort and a spirit of dedication more necessary than today.

16. Two years or so ago, when the Congress passed the Avadi resolution on a socialist pattern of society, and Parliament also accepted this objective, there was the infusion of a new life in the country.<sup>17</sup> Then came the question of States reorganization and suddenly all the evil hidden in our hearts came out and took possession of us, blinding us and leading us to wrong action. We stood out before ourselves and the world as narrow and parochial-minded, caste-ridden people who were unworthy of what we had ourselves proclaimed.

17. Perhaps, it was as well that this happened and this hidden evil came out. If it was in us, as it was, then it has to come out some time or other. Have we exorcized this spirit of evil and got rid of it or does it still possess us?

18. There is the distant noise of approaching elections,<sup>18</sup> and candidates and aspirants are preparing for the contest. Elections make a difference. In our democratic set up, they are important and have to be taken seriously. But, far more important than elections is the spirit of the country and the mind and heart of the growing generation which will represent this country in the future. Far more important are the ideals which we proclaim and the faith and hard work that we put in for their realization. Far more important are the standards of behaviour that we maintain.

19. We live in a period of historic happenings in our country and in the world. Do we realize this tremendous opportunity and responsibility and try to raise ourselves up

17. See *ante*, pp. 112 and 125.

18. General elections for Union Parliament and State  
held from 25 February to 12 March 1957

bhes were

16 August 1956

405

to that high level? Whether we like it or not, a high destiny has caught us in its grip. We may master it and shape it to our will, or fail and prove ourselves false to the opportunity that came to us.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

*Enclosure\**

I am writing this note on Independence Day, August 15, 1956. It is just a little over three weeks since I returned to India<sup>1</sup> after a month's tour abroad. These three weeks have brought so many developments, both within the country and outside, that my tour is already old history and I feel a little reluctant to write about it. In any event, I cannot write in such detail as I had at first intended. Not to write some brief record of this very interesting and instructive visit of mine to European and other countries would probably not be right.

2 I am therefore drawing your attention here to a few salient facts. The main purpose of my visit abroad was to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. Gradually other engagements were fixed up. On my way to London, I stopped for a day at Damascus. On my way back to India I spent a day in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon. These visits to Syria and Lebanon were very brief, but they were worthwhile and they gave me a picture of these two small but important Arab countries, both steeped in old history. I had the opportunity to meet the leaders of these countries and to have fairly long talks with them.

3 Among the other countries I visited, were West Germany, a brief day in Paris, a day in Yugoslavia and a day in Cairo. The last place was visited on my way back.

4 I was to have gone to the United States to see President Eisenhower but this had to be postponed owing to the President's illness. This change in my programme at the last moment gave me four or five extra days. I utilized them to pay a visit to Ireland,<sup>2</sup> which had been long overdue.

5 In the course of this month's tour, I thus visited a wide assortment of countries and came in contact with leading

\* Note on his tour abroad in June-July 1956, New Delhi, 15 August 1956

1 On 23 July 1956.

2 From 7 to 11 July 1956

statesmen who were playing an important part in world affairs today. My brief visit to Damascus and Beirut brought to my mind long vistas of past history. Damascus is supposed to be one of the oldest cities of the world. In that respect, it is a rival of Banaras. Thousands of years of history lie buried there, under its sands and in the memories of men. So, also, with Beirut where one can see layer upon layer of civilization existing for a while and then passing away, giving place to another. Armies and proud conquerors have passed this way from Asia to Europe and Europe to Asia. Here, for hundreds of years, Christendom fought Islam during the Crusades and, ultimately, acknowledged defeat. Indeed, the Crusades brought the rather backward European countries of those days into touch with the more cultured people of Western Asia.

6 In Damascus stands a great mosque which was a great Christian cathedral before Islam came. There lies buried Saladin or Salah-al-Din,<sup>3</sup> the Moslem hero of the Crusades. There also is a tomb supposed to be that of John the Baptist.<sup>4</sup> In Damascus, there is still a road named "The Street called Straight" which is referred to in biblical history. So, as I flew over these vast tracts of Western Asia and halted for a brief while at Damascus and Beirut, the panorama of ages long past came before me, and I had a sensation that past was not quite dead. It impinged on the present, even though the present was so different. As in India, there is a curious combination and overlapping of the past and the present with dreams of the future. Just as the bullock cart is as much a part of India today as the railway train or the aeroplane, so also many ancient relics continue in these Arab countries of Western Asia together with modern factories and buildings and ways of life. But it is not merely in the external sense that

3. Yusuf Ibn-Ayyub Salah-al-Din (1138-1193). Sultan of Egypt and Syria from 1174; fought and defeated Richard I of England and Philip II of France who took part in the Crusades in 1189.

4. Cousin of Jesus who is said to have baptized him; author of one of the four Gospels

old and new combine and intermingle in India and in these Arab countries.

The texture of life itself and the mind of man in our country, as in these Arab countries, is also a part of this curious mixture, which is somewhat deeper than the externals of civilization. Some people may argue that these relics of the past are just evidence of backwardness. Probably, they are so to a large extent. Perhaps, also, there is something else about them, which is not easy to grasp. With the coming of industrialization in full flood, most of those relics will disappear, in so far as external evidence is concerned. Will the texture of man's mind also change in the same way in our country and in these regions? I do not know. In any event, these conflicts of past and present, the interplay of forces and movements, the ferment in men's minds, were fascinating phenomena for me. They exist of course, in India, but we are used to them more or less in our own country. In a somewhat different context and environment, they strike one with greater force.

7. These two small Arab countries, Syria and Lebanon, are probably more advanced intellectually and in physical standards than the other Arab countries. Cairo, the capital of Egypt, is of course a great Arab intellectual and cultural centre. Even so, Damascus and Beirut hold their place and have a tradition of scholarship and great universities. Indeed from both Syria and Lebanon, vast numbers of their citizens have migrated in the past, chiefly when these countries were under Turkish rule, to North and South America. There are, I believe, more Lebanese and Syrians outside these countries than there are in them. Large numbers of engineers, doctors, and the like go from Lebanon now to Saudi Arabia and perhaps other Arab countries. Lebanon is a very attractive little country, offering a variety of climate, from the warm seaside to snow-covered mountains which can be reached in two or three hours' drive. And so, one can bathe in the sea and, after three or four hours' travel, have winter sports.

8. In both these countries, the question of Palestine or Israel was almost the dominant issue. It was quite extra-

ordinary to see the passion over this issue. Half the population of Lebanon is Christian, the principal Christian sect being the Maronites. But these Christian Arabs were, if anything, even more anti-Israel than the Moslem Arabs. The President<sup>5</sup> of Lebanon, a highly accomplished person, spoke to me quietly, but with concentrated anger and dislike, of Israel. This dislike could hardly be due to religion. It seemed to me that there was an element of economic rivalry, so far as Lebanon was concerned. Beirut is a great mercantile city, and there was probably a fear there that the growth of Israel might come in its way.

9 From Damascus we flew to Athens and Rome for refuelling, passing over the Acropolis of Athens and the Colosseum and other ancient buildings of Rome. The illusion of the past remained, the past wherein lay the roots of European culture. The Mediterranean had been the link between these past civilizations of Europe and Western Asia. The spread of the Ottoman Empire had resulted in breaking the links between these Mediterranean regions of the East and West, and in later years the Arab areas suffered much under Turkish rule and became very backward. As I have said above, large numbers of Arabs from Syria and Lebanon migrated to foreign countries in those days. It was only at the end of the first World War that this Arab world came out of the Turkish sphere and new movements began to work there which led, after some conflicts with Western countries, to independence. Even now there is Israel, in the heart of the Arab country unabsorbed and unaccepted by these neighbouring States and a source of continuous trouble to that region. Both on the side of Israel and the Arabs there is passion and uncompromising attitudes. There is no doubt that Israel is industrially and scientifically a fast developing country, small as it is. At the same time it is difficult to imagine how it can function satisfactorily if walls of hostility surround it.

5 Camille Chamoun (b. 1900) President of Lebanon, 1952-58; leader of Liberal Nationalist Party from 1958; Minister of Interior, 1975-76, of Foreign Affairs 1976 of Finance 1984-85.

The Arabs today refer casually to the Crusades and say that they are prepared to wait. Ultimately, even without major war, they will squeeze out Israel. Whether they really believe in this or not, I do not know. I rather doubt it, and they are probably prepared for some compromise on the lines of exchange of some patch of territory and compensation for the refugees. On this question of territorial change Israel is adamant. The whole question of course is tied up with wider international problems and it must be remembered that the United States of America and even to some extent the United Kingdom are rather inclined towards Israel. The Soviet Union in recent months has shown favour to the Arabs.

10. And so to the Commonwealth Conference in London. There was nothing unusual about this. I found, however, a feeling of unease among some people in England and more so among the Australians and the New Zealanders at the Conference about the present functioning of the Commonwealth. They said that it was too loose and that something should be done to give it a greater coherence. The Prime Minister<sup>6</sup> of Australia wrote some articles on this subject in the *London Times*.<sup>7</sup> But this subject was not pursued. Most people realized that any such effort might well lead to the breaking up of the Commonwealth as it is today. Apart from Asian countries, South Africa was entirely opposed to this. There was no discussion on this issue in the Conference itself.

11. I found that the visit of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to London<sup>8</sup> had evidently made an impression. Oddly enough this impression was greatest on Prime Minister Eden and some of his other Ministers. Partly because of this visit, Sir Anthony Eden recognized that significant changes had taken place and were taking place in the Soviet Union as well as in the East European Communist countries. To some extent, he agreed with us on this

6. Sir Robert Gordon Menzies. For b.fn. see Vol. 2, p.305.

7. On 11 and 12 June 1956

8. See *ante* p. 372.

appraisal and this was reflected in the joint communique issued by the Conference at the end.<sup>9</sup> This was in a sense a major issue because on this proposal depended much else. I might add that Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev's visit to England influenced them also considerably. I think that they were rather surprised to see the high standards of life there generally and the vast number of automobiles in the streets. But, more than this, it made them feel a little more friendly or a little less unfriendly, to the British Government. Unfortunately, the Labour Party of Britain did not participate in this slight coming together.

12 In a vague kind of way, India's influence was felt in the deliberations of the Conference. This made not only some difference to the communique at the end but, to some extent, influenced the thinking of others present.

13 My visit to Ireland took me to an entirely different world, different from the travails and ferments of both Europe and Asia. Somehow I passed out of the present age to a period of a generation or more ago. Ireland was peaceful, soothing, almost soporific. It was a good place for me to have a little rest. The Government and people were extraordinarily friendly, more especially the President,<sup>10</sup> whose guests we were. But almost all our talk was about the Rising of 1916 and the Civil War of the early twenties. Also of the experiences and incidents and conflicts of prison life. These were subjects in which we fitted in easily with our own experiences of conflict and prison. After having to face the difficult problems of today in India or in Europe, our Five Year Plans, the rivalry between two great blocs of nations, political issues and economic issues, suddenly we were transported to a dreamy world of the past. This does not mean that Ireland has not got its problems today. Of course, they have their economic problems and difficulties and the

<sup>9</sup> The communique issued on 6 July welcomed the Soviet decision to reduce armed forces and the willingness and expressed desire to increase contacts and improve relations w<sup>th</sup> other countries

<sup>10</sup> Sean Thomas O Ke ly 882 1966 Pres dent of Ireland 1945 59

biggest thing of all is the continuing depopulation of Ireland. The Irish people are very prolific. Each family produced at least half a dozen or more children. But large numbers migrate continuously to America or to England or to Australia or some other country and many make good there. This is one of the present-day headaches of the Irish leaders.

14. After this Ireland, living still in an earlier part of this century, we came up suddenly against Western Germany of today. Here was bustle and activity, hard thinking and hard work. Within the few years after the War, they had rebuilt their cities which had been grievously damaged by bombing. They had spread out their industries and absorbed about nine million displaced persons who had come from East Germany or Poland or Czechoslovakia. Indeed, in spite of this vast influx, there was actually a lack of manpower in Germany and they had to bring a hundred thousand Italians for road-building. One could not but admire the tremendous energy, ability and discipline of the German race. Twice defeated in war and suffering enormous loss and damage, here they were again vital, confident and advancing. There are very few countries in Europe with that abundant vitality and confidence which we find in Western Germany.

15. Almost everywhere that I went, but more especially in Western Germany, there was deep interest in what was happening in India. During the past two or three years there has been a marked change in outlook in regard to India. There is a definite belief in these countries that India is making good and is well set on the way to industrial progress. Because of this belief, there is a keener desire than ever before for closer association with India in this business of industrialization. Both political and economic reasons make these countries look towards India and try to find ways of co-operation. In Germany, the greatest interest was taken in our second Five Year Plan. I exhausted all the copies I had of it and there were demands for more. The Federal Government appointed a special Governmental Committee to examine our second Five Year Plan to find out how they

could cooperate and help. They offered to build for us a technological institute in India and 600 to 700 scholarships of various kinds were also offered.

16. The official policy of the Federal Government of Germany of international affairs is, broadly speaking, opposed to ours. I had long and frank talks with Chancellor Adenauer and his colleagues. We did not convince each other, but I think we did influence each other to some extent and certainly we understood each other. Chancellor Adenauer struck me as an impressive figure. Eighty years old, he was fit and straight. His face, rather shrunken, looks like an old lion's. A day or two after I had left Germany, he came out with a statement approving of our Five Principles of Panchsheel, much to the surprise of many Germans who did not expect this from him.

17. The popular welcome that I got in Western Germany was greater than in any other country I visited on this occasion. The crowds in the streets were friendly and sometimes they waited long hours along the route I was to pass. This was especially so in Hamburg which was a city with a peculiar flavour of its own. It is a free city with very special privileges. Being a port and a great mercantile centre, its outlook on the wide world was somewhat more cosmopolitan. The Mayor was in effect something like the Chief Executive or the Chief Minister of that city State. His Rathaus or Corporation building was a magnificent old palace.

18. I had mentioned the change in the approach of several Western countries towards India. There was no sentiment behind this, although there were sentimental people about. It was a hard-headed appraisal of the situation and a desire to be associated with a country that was advancing rapidly and would have influence in the world. Partly it was due to the success of our foreign policy, but even more so, I think, to the success of our first Five Year Plan. To a slight extent also there was a feeling that with China having gone Communist India offered some hope to stem the tide of communism in Asia. Therefore these countries of the West rather opened

out to India. But there was the difficulty still of getting any financial help in the shape of loans, etc., from them. In the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, which I did not visit this time, the desire to be associated with India is even greater for a variety of reasons. As there are no large private industries there, there is no question of patents or secret devices or knowhows. They are very ready to share with us what they know, more so than the Western European countries.

19 From Hamburg we travelled to Paris and spent a day there. Algeria was of course the principal topic of discussion, apart from the general European and world situation. It seemed to me that under pressure of events, the French Government had gone fairly far in accepting the suggestions we had made. They accepted the idea of ceasefire and negotiations with the Algerian nationalist leaders. It is true that they wanted to give a few knock-out military blows to the Algerians before they sat down at a conference table. And so, while they expressed a wish for negotiations, they did not go too far in that direction and wanted the other side to take a step or two. It is possible that the other side would have done that. Indeed our proposals were accepted by one eminent leader<sup>11</sup> of the Algerian nationals and the others were to some extent prepared to do so. Neither side wanted to appear as the weaker and to make definite offers. There the matter stood when we came to Egypt on our way back. Colonel Nasser and his colleagues agreed to pass on our advice to the Algerian leaders and there was some hope of progress.

20 But, all this has now been shattered by the developments in connection with the Suez Canal. One might almost think that the French Government, sitting on the horns of a terrible dilemma, was happy at this Suez Canal development because it relieved them of the pressure of the Algerian

<sup>11</sup> Messa Hadj leader of a major group of Algerian nationalists

problem. Even when I was in Paris, I found Premier Mollet<sup>12</sup> and Foreign Minister Pineau very anxious about the whole future of North Africa. Algeria, though very important, became part of the larger picture of French Dominions and influence in North Africa, including a vast region in Central Africa under the French. Part of this is very rich and has uranium. Some speeches of Colonel Nasser about the Arab world had rather frightened the French Government and, I suppose, to some extent, even the British Government. M Pineau talked with some excitement about Colonel Nasser's wanting to build up an Arab Empire.

21 From Paris, we went to Brioni,<sup>13</sup> a lovely little island in the Adriatic Sea. And there we met President Tito and President Nasser. We had long talks. President Tito told us of his visit to the Soviet Union<sup>14</sup> and the very favourable impressions that he had brought of the great changes taking place there. Evidently he had been greatly influenced. He hinted at some inner conflict among the top circles of the Soviet Union, that is between Bulganin, Khrushchev and Mikoyan on the one side and some other top-ranking leaders on the other. Bulganin and Khrushchev represented the new and more liberal urge. Others still clung to a more Stalinist position. President Tito was all for encouraging this liberal trend of Bulganin and Khrushchev as well as similar developments in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other East European countries. In Poland, a little while before, had occurred the Poznan riots.<sup>15</sup>

22 I had looked upon my visit to Brioni as rather a friendly call with a view to talks with President Tito and President

12. Guy Mollet (1905-1975). Leader of French Socialist Party, Minister for State, 1946-47 and 1958-59; Minister to Council of Europe, 1950-51, Deputy Prime Minister, 1951; Prime Minister, 1956-57.

13. On 18 and 19 July 1956.

14. See *ante*, p. 372.

15. Workers, demonstrating against Government's failure to increase their wages check inflation and improve their living conditions clashed with the police at P on 28 June 1956

Nasser about recent developments. But both Yugoslavia and Egypt had publicized this meeting of us three as a major event in world politics, with the result that about two hundred foreign correspondents had gathered there. They had little to do and were much disappointed. In drafting our joint communique,<sup>16</sup> there was no major difficulty, but there was a tendency on the part of Yugoslavia and Egypt with which I did not wholly agree, to bring in slogan-like phrases and sometimes rather strong expressions of opinion. However, we came to an agreement about the wording of the communique which was subsequently published. I doubt if anyone of us three quite liked that wording as it finally emerged, but that usually happens where a middle way is sought between various opinions.

23. I should like to add here that both in Germany and in France, there was a good deal of vague apprehension about the new colossus, China. They were thinking more of the future than of the present. What was going to happen with this huge country, with a tremendous and evergrowing population, when it becomes industrialized? Even now, it had a population of nearly six hundred millions. In twenty years' time, this figure was expected to reach nearly one thousand millions. This was rather a terrifying prospect. Chancellor Adenauer and M. Pineau both told me of the impressions they had got in Moscow that all was not well between the Soviet Union and China. They did not mean that there was any present conflict, but rather that there was an apprehension in the Soviet Union about what China might be like and might do in the future.

16 The communique called for "close cooperation" amongst themselves and noted that the policies pursued by their countries had contributed towards lessening of international tensions and that their talks had led them to better understanding of each other's points of view. It reaffirmed the ten principles adopted at Bandung, underlined the need for disarmament and for international co-operation in peaceful uses of atomic energy and called for the establishment of a U.N. Fund for economic development.

24. As we were leaving Brioni, we heard about the American refusal of aid to Egypt for the Aswan Dam.<sup>17</sup> We did not talk about it much there. In Cairo, in the course of our talks with President Nasser and his colleagues, some reference was made to the Aswan Dam. I gathered the impression that Egypt was going to give up this project for the present. In fact, I casually mentioned that it might be more advantageous for them to have a large number of smaller projects, yielding quicker results, than one mighty project which absorbed all their resources and did not yield any results for ten years or more. Colonel Nasser appeared to agree with me. There was no reference whatsoever to the Suez Canal. I left Cairo on the morning of the 21st July. It was, I think on the 26th July that the announcement about the nationalization of the Suez Canal was made. I have little doubt that, while I was in Cairo, Colonel Nasser had not thought of this. He had been away for nearly ten days previously in Yugoslavia and, indeed, the question could not arise till the American refusal to give aid for the Aswan Dam.

25. And so, I left Cairo and after a brief stay at Beirut, we landed on Indian soil at Jamnagar, on the 22nd July evening. The next day, we reached Delhi in the forenoon, full of impressions of this changing and dynamic world.

26. I might add as a kind of postscript that, on my way to London, our aircraft stopped for refuelling at Athens and Rome. At Athens, I met the Prime Minister<sup>18</sup> and the Foreign Minister<sup>19</sup> at the airport and had an hour's talk with them. At Rome also, I met some Ministers. The Athens talk was largely concerned with the Cyprus issue. I chiefly listened to

17. On 19 July, the United States and Britain informed Egypt that it was "not feasible" for them to finance the construction of the Aswan Dam because they feared that Egypt was not economically sound and lacked the necessary infrastructure to undertake "such a vast project." Earlier, in December 1955, they had offered to help Egypt construct the Dam.

18. Antonio Segni

19. Gaetano Martino 1900-1967 Minister of Foreign Affairs 1954-57

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'd the Turks. I told them that, if that was so, the  
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stiff attitude.

us, for the British, was a symbol of their retaining  
ion and influence in the Middle Eastern region. It  
ome kind of an assurance about their continuing

though why it was so considered I have not  
1 Oil had suddenly become (or perhaps, this line  
g began with Abadan and Mossadeq<sup>21</sup> in Iran) a  
in British thinking, something on which their  
re depended. This fact has to be remembered in  
derstand the violent reactions to Egypt's nationaliza-  
the Suez Canal. Suddenly, the British people and  
a felt that their entire future was imperilled. They  
starved out, their industries ruined, and they  
ik into insignificance in world affairs. The act of  
zation was the first major step to this end and this  
y to be followed by others. It was as if someone had  
ands on their throats and was strangling them  
re trying to recover their breath and to release  
es from the stranglehold. This was the reaction to  
Canal nationalization. The reaction was unjustifi-  
the military and like steps taken by these two  
were foolish, because they could do them no good  
might even bring ruin upon them. Of course, it was  
because of various factors, there is a progressive

<sup>20</sup> June the Turkish Prime Minister stated that their negotia-  
with Britain on the future constitutional status of Cyprus had

elimination of British and French influence in Asia and Africa. They saw this as something vastly bigger than it was in the present and something that endangered their very existence. I have mentioned this so that it might help us to understand these powerful reactions, especially in the United Kingdom and France.

New Delhi,  
August 15, 1956,  
Independence Day

Jawaharlal Nehru

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27. Cyprus, for the British, was a symbol of their retaining some position and influence in the Middle Eastern region. It was also some kind of an assurance about their continuing to get oil, though why it was so considered I have not understood. Oil had suddenly become (or perhaps, this line of thinking began with Abadan and Mossadeq<sup>21</sup> in Iran) a vital issue in British thinking, something on which their entire future depended. This fact has to be remembered in order to understand the violent reactions to Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal. Suddenly, the British people and the French felt that their entire future was imperilled. They would be starved out, their industries ruined, and they would sink into insignificance in world affairs. The act of nationalization was the first major step to this end and this was likely to be followed by others. It was as if someone had put his hands on their throats and was strangling them. They were trying to recover their breath and to release themselves from the stranglehold. This was the reaction to the Suez Canal nationalization. The reaction was unjustified and the military and like steps taken by these two Powers were foolish, because they could do them no good and they might even bring ruin upon them. Of course, it was true that because of various factors, there is a progressive

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21 Muhammad Mossadeq. For b fn see Vol 2 p 453

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elimination of British and French influence in Asia and Africa. They saw this as something vastly bigger than it was in the present and something that endangered their very existence. I have mentioned this so that it might help us to understand these powerful reactions, especially in the United Kingdom and France.

New Delhi,  
August 15, 1956,  
Independence Day

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
26 August, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

The States Reorganization Bill has been passed by Parliament.<sup>1</sup> This long journey has ended so far as Parliament is concerned and now we have to implement these decisions. I earnestly hope that this will be done with as great a measure of co-operation as possible.

2 During these last ten or eleven months, ever since the report of the Commission came out, we have seen many extraordinary happenings in various parts of India. There has been much violence on the part of the public and there has been sometimes shooting at violent crowds by the police. Many of us have criticized this violence and pointed out how it undermines the whole conception and structure of a democratic government.

3 That is so, of course, and yet, at the same time, it is not enough for us merely to lay down high principles and not seek to understand these rather alarming developments. Governments, engrossed in their activities, lose touch with the people and then are surprised at some reaction. A popular government cannot afford to live in its secretariats and offices. It has to be in direct touch with the people and constantly to explain to them its own problems and measures and get their reaction. I fear that we do not attach enough importance to these contacts with the public.

4 We must always remember that there is a gap between

one generation and another. Even in relatively static periods, there is some gap. In periods of transition and great change in the political or economic structure, the gap is much greater. In Europe and elsewhere, there have been vast changes during the last forty years or so, because of two great World Wars. The new generation in Europe is vastly different from the pre-War generations or even the generation between the two Great Wars. They are different in their thinking, in their approach to life and its problems.

5 I mention this because I find there is not enough realization in our country of this fact of a new generation thinking along its own lines and, to some extent, being rather disdainful of the older generation. This applies to the better type of the new generation which thinks; so far as others are concerned, the gap is still bigger, because it is the result not of thinking but just the reaction to events. In India today one of the most striking features is this distance between people of our generation and the students in the schools and colleges. We live in different worlds of thought and feeling. And so, we do not affect each other as normally we should. There are, of course, other reasons too—the quality of our education, the fall in standards both among the teachers and among the students, the change-over in the medium of instruction which has led often to this fall in standards, the progressive lessening of the influence of English which was a certain unifying factor as well as a window to the world of thought outside India, the reaction after independence had been gained, and the lack of personal experience of the younger generation of our struggle for freedom.

6. Anyhow, the problem before us is not solved by our declaiming against it or against any people. We have to understand it in so far as we can and then try to deal with it. Mere strong expressions of opinion only irritate others instead of influencing them.

7. In the troubles we had recently in various parts of India, culminating in Gujarat and Ahmedabad one fact has stood out. A public demonstration is held this tends to become

violent; the violence grows and there is arson and stone-throwing; there is conflict with the police; there is firing by the police resulting in the deaths of a few persons and in injury to many others. Often the persons who have died are quite innocent; sometimes a woman or child dies. As soon as this happens, popular sentiment gets greatly excited, not so much because of the original cause, but because of the firing and the deaths of apparently innocent people. There is much more violence then, more conflicts with the police. And so this vicious circle goes on creating conflict and bitterness and a wall between the Government and administration on the one side and the people on the other.

8 This has been a story often repeated in various parts of India. It is a bad story, bad from the point of view of the people and of the Government. We may argue about it and defend what Government has done, but that does not take away from the badness of it. We shall have to find out some other way of dealing with a situation like this. Of course, this should not happen when there is close contact and understanding between administration and the people. But there are anti-social and other forces which can nevertheless make breaches in that contact or incite people to violent behaviour. If we respond to that violence by violence on the part of the Government, we play into the hands of those who want trouble and we widen the gap between Government and the people. Where firing takes place and deaths, there is an immediate and powerful reaction among people of all kinds against Government, even though the firing might be justified.

9 Recent cases have occurred where there was an enquiry into some incident of firing by the police. Often the enquiry has led to a finding that the firing was not justified. Whenever police firing takes place, there is a demand for an enquiry. It seems obvious to me that there can be profitable enquiry into occurrences such as took place in Bombay, because that was more in the nature of a widespread revolt than some individual case of firing. But, normally, it seems to me desirable there should be an enquiry. Even in the

interests of the police, it seems desirable because otherwise they are inevitably condemned in the public mind.

10 But far more important than this is to avoid the firing. We cannot say that under no circumstances must there be firing, because sometimes there can be no choice about it and not to do this is to yield a city to violent and disorderly elements and abdicate the function of Government. At the same time, I have a feeling that there has been far too often a recourse to firing by the police than there need have been. Our police appear to be becoming rather too much trigger-conscious. In most countries the police do not even have rifles and their chief function is the regulation of traffic, etc or to deal with criminals. This kind of repeated conflict between the police and the people generally is very bad from the point of view of both, and each begins to look on the other as the enemy. Where firing takes place and deaths, an added element of extreme bitterness comes in. The police suffer, of course, but so does also the Government. After all, none of us who are Ministers likes this kind of thing and every report of such firing distresses us, more especially when young men and women are the victims of it.

11 A practical consideration is that, in effect, the result of that firing is actually to inflame the populace and make conditions worse. It may be that the immediate situation is controlled by firing, but this leads to other and worse situations later. Therefore, the principal object of the firing is not usually obtained and we get into a quagmire of conflict and violence.

12 I feel, therefore, and I am sure you will agree with me, that we must examine this matter carefully and issue strict injunctions to our police not to use fire-arms, except under the gravest danger. It should be pointed out to them that we do not approve of the use of the fire-arms and we shall examine each case very strictly. I can imagine a case like the burning of the High Court building at Indore when firing had to be resorted to; or some other cases of widespread arson or individual killing that may be going on which has to be met in this way as there is no other way. But, broadly

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speaking, we must try to put an end to firing by the police and the strictest injunction should be issued in regard to it. The police can use their batons or lathis, though even that should be done in moderation. They can use tear gas bombs where considered necessary. But let us try to put an end to this vicious circle of firing and killing which leads to such disastrous results.

13. It is difficult to frame specific rules. Existing rules, in a sense, are clear enough. The question is of their implementation and how they are understood. It is in this matter that we can perhaps help in explaining the situation very clearly to our magistrates and police officials and they should be asked to explain it to the lower officers and others. I hope that you will take some steps to this end.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 52

New Delhi  
27 August, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

On August 12th, I sent you a letter<sup>1</sup> in which I drew particular attention to the urgency and vital importance of increasing agricultural production and, more particularly food production. The particular occasion for my writing to you then was my reaction to the conference of Ministers of Food and Agriculture of the States that had been held at Sissoorie. At this conference, the statements made on behalf of several States seemed to me to indicate an extraordinarily static view of a dynamic position.

2 We have been compelled by circumstances to give more and more thought to this matter. There is the rise in prices, the urgent necessity of importing foodgrains from abroad and generally our foreign exchange position which is not a happy one at all. In a sense, all these revolve round our agricultural production. A rise in prices of foodgrains is, I need hardly point out, of vital significance to our people and to our second Five Year Plan. All our schemes are likely to be completely upset if we cannot control prices. The price index very largely depends upon the prices of foodgrains and cloth. We have to control these two, and this means that we must produce enough of both. When an emergency arises, we have to import foodgrains, as we are importing today, but the drain on our foreign exchange because of this, is terrific. We cannot, in effect, import both foodgrains and machinery, etc. from abroad. If we have to import certain

essential articles from abroad for the purposes of our Five Year Plan, then we have to pay for them with our exports. For us to have to import even foodgrains is really to undermine the whole structure and the like, which we so badly require for our Plan.

3. As a matter of fact, the only sound way of dealing with this situation is for us to export both agricultural produce, including foodgrains, as well as cloth, apart from other commodities. It is because of this that it has become essential for us to increase our cloth production. There is an argument about the relative values of mill-cloth production and the Ambar Charkha and handloom production. We all want to encourage handlooms and the Ambar Charkha, and we are doing so to the best of our ability. But, obviously, we cannot export the produce of the Ambar Charkha. We can only export mill-made textiles, apart from fancy handloom textiles. It is, therefore, necessary for us even to increase our mill production of cloth for export. We have natural markets all round India and we are losing them to other countries like Japan, Italy, etc., because we have not had enough of these for export. Consumption in India is growing, and that is welcome as it is a sign of somewhat higher standards. But, if this leads to the diminution of our exports, then it will hit us badly.

4. But, I am writing to you principally about the food situation and the increase in the production of foodgrains that we should aim at. As I have previously pointed out to you, the general attitude exhibited at the Mussoorie Conference was depressing in the extreme. It seemed to me that that had no relation whatever to our second Five Year Plan or, indeed, to existing conditions in India. Stress was laid there on more and more money being provided for agricultural development in order to increase the food supply. This indeed is the easy way which required no particular intensity of thought. If we had enough money, we could do a thousand other things also, such as many more industrial projects and railway extensions and roads and so many other things. We could build up our heavy industry

more rapidly. Obviously there is a limitation on our resources and we have extended them to the utmost in the second Plan. In this Plan, we have provided, in various ways, a sum of over rupees one thousand crores for increase in rural production. In addition to this, there are arrangements for provision of short-term credits in community projects and national extension areas. It is not possible for us to increase the allocation for agriculture. If we do so, we shut up shop elsewhere and give up a number of our important projects.

5. This is the problem. And I would like you and your colleagues in your Government to realize it. We cannot have it both ways. Are we then to conclude that there is no help for it except to give up the idea of increasing our food production above the fifteen per cent mentioned previously? That would be a confession of defeat. I do not think that this is at all necessary.

6. On the 5th of June, the Planning Commission sent a circular letter<sup>2</sup> to all State Governments on the subject of a review of targets of agricultural production in the second Five Year Plan. I would particularly draw your attention to this letter because it deals at some length and in some detail, with this urgent problem. It makes specific proposals, each one of which is completely practical. I shall not repeat those proposals here, but I would like you and your Government and, more particularly, your Agricultural Department to consider this letter of the Planning Commission carefully. What surprises me is that, while the Planning Commission had indicated in such detail as to what should be done, this

2. The circular stressed that: (1) national extension schemes and community projects be made an integral part of the agricultural programme, (2) extensive use be made of dry farming, seeds and fertilizers, (3) credit and market cooperatives be increased so as to increase food production. Agricultural incomes should rise through better management of existing resources and by doubling agricultural production and the gap between incomes from agricultural and industrial growth should be reduced.

seems to have had little effect on the Mussoorie Conference I am inclined to think that neither this letter nor, indeed, the relevant chapters in the second Five Year Plan had been studied with any care by many of those who attended the Mussoorie Conference. It would have been helpful if the various proposals made in this letter had been examined seriatim. The letter asks for certain information. I do not know if any effort has been made to supply this information although the letter was sent two and a half months ago.

7. One thing appears to be quite essential, and that is the closest possible integration of the community projects and national extension service with the States' agricultural development schemes. In these community projects and national extension service we have built a very fine organization and, if we utilize it to the full in this respect, as we should, then the results obtained can very well be far-reaching. The community projects and the national extension service should give priority to this and definite targets should be laid down for each group of villages. We have decided to extend the community projects and national extension service to practically the whole of rural India in the course of the second Five Year Plan. This means that we can reach almost every village in this specific and detailed way. But it is essential that the Agricultural Departments of the States utilize to the full these agencies which are really parts of their own set-up.

8. Our chief difficulty in the past has been that while we take good decisions we cannot translate them into action easily. We cannot reach the man in the field and our decisions remain somewhere in the files of our various Departments or offices. This difficulty need no longer exist because of this great organization that we have built up through the community projects and the national extension service. This means, however, a clear realization of the objective in view, of the targets and of the importance of utilizing the community projects and national extension service for this purpose.

9. We have immediately to r

the schemes and targets

for agricultural production in the second Five Year Plan and to lay down specific steps that have to be taken to realize these targets. We all know what these specific steps are in theory. The question is how to translate them into practice, how to reach every village and almost every family in the village, and to organize supply of approved seeds, organic manures, apart from chemical fertilizers, etc.

10 I shall be grateful if you will have all these matters examined fully in terms of the letter of the Planning Commission of the 5th June, and to write to the Planning Commission giving the information required. Recently, our Food Secretary, Shri P.N. Thapar,<sup>3</sup> visited China at our request. He has just come back and the information<sup>4</sup> he has brought with him will, no doubt, help us in many ways, because there is much in common in the agricultural conditions in China and India. It appears that the great difference between China and India is in the average per acre production. Our best production in India is in no way inferior to that of China. But the great part of our food production is of a very low yield indeed. The gap between our good production and bad, is a very big one. In China, this gap is a small one. Thus, while the best yield of India is much the same as in China, the average yield is far greater in China than in India. It is for us to pull up these low-yield areas and this can undoubtedly be done. It is feasible and practicable. What is required is hard work and a detailed programme for each village.

3. (1903-1982). Joined the Indian Civil Service, 1927; served in the Punjab; Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, 1954-58.

4. In his report, Thapar stressed that India should do all she could to develop agriculture and industry if she were not to be left far behind China. He said that the keystone of Chinese agriculture was the

11. We have begun to think too much in terms of chemical fertilizers. I have no doubt they are good and we should use them. But, I have also little doubt that too much reliance on chemical fertilizers is going to be bad for us, as indeed for any other country. Apart from this, it is wasteful for us not to utilize natural manures which are far better. Little attention apparently has been paid to this utilization of natural green manures. Here also, we adopt the easy way of getting a bucketful of chemical fertilizer and using it.

12. In this matter, China is far ahead of us. They do not waste anything and they concentrate on the use of natural and green manures. Even human excreta is used to the fullest extent. Perhaps, our social customs come in the way to some extent, though I do not see why they should. Anyhow, in this hard and competitive world, we shall have to give up some of our old customs if they come in the way of national advance.

13. It is well known that great loss is caused to our food production by insects, pests, wild animals, etc. Something is done here, but that is not at all adequate. In China, they have had campaigns against these pests and have practically put an end to them, thus automatically increasing their food production greatly. In India, on the other hand, we are taking some steps which actually lead to a further destruction or loss in foodgrains. Again, our old customs come in the way. Recent legislation in some States, banning the killing of cattle, has had little effect on the protection of the cattle which we aim at. It is producing strange results in other directions. I have been informed that many of these cattle, which have been left to fend for themselves, have turned wild and are doing a good deal of damage, apart from injuring food crops. As is natural, the good cattle suffer and the standard goes down. So, not only are the cattle not properly protected or looked after, but a new danger arises and our food production suffers.

14. You will, I hope, soon reply to the Planning Commission. But, I would beg of you to write to me on this subject also as I am not only interested in it greatly but consider it of vital importance. I repeat what I said before

that we must get out of our old and static ruts of thinking. We have to take this matter up as some kind of a crusade with some missionary zeal. Our experts have to wake up and give up thinking in some academic way which has no relation to the problems of today.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
20 September, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

Much has happened in India and abroad since I wrote to you, and there is much to tell you or to comment upon. I do not quite know how to cover this period of trouble and strife.

2. Parliament ended a brief but very full and eventful session.<sup>1</sup> During this session, it dealt with the States Reorganization Bill and the Constitution Amendment Bill.<sup>2</sup> It was rather extraordinary that, after a year of fierce controversy, these measures should have been passed by Parliament quietly and by overwhelming majorities. No one can say that these majorities were the result of unwilling Members being induced to vote by Party discipline. As you know, some of the principal decisions were really taken by Members of Parliament on their own initiative and not by any pressure from Government. The decision about a composite Bombay State emerged from the storm and stress of many months of argument and conflict. It is true that we welcomed it. But we had almost given it up as something we could not bring about in existing circumstances. When, however, some Members of Parliament took the initiative, there was an overwhelming response from the other Members, including M.P.s of several parties. One might well say that the private Member of Parliament, in a moment of crisis and difficulty, took the lead, and the Government

1. On 13 September 1956

2. The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill giving effect to the scheme envisaged in the States Reorganization Act was passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 7 and 1 September 1956

INDIA Before Partition from 15th August 1947



INDIA after reorganization of States in 1956



followed that lead. It was not that Government followed it unwillingly, because we had all along hoped that a composite Bombay State would be decided upon.

3 Another important work of the last session of Parliament was the discussion on the second Five Year Plan which had begun in the previous session.<sup>3</sup> We had a long and helpful discussion. As usual, a good deal of attention was paid to minor matters and not so much to the basic policy and strategy of the Plan. But, the debate was very instructive and, I have no doubt, it did good. In spite of the fierce arguments about other matters in the country, the fact remains that the most important subject for us has been this second Five Year Plan. The first Plan was relatively easy canter. It began at a slow pace and gradually gathered speed and, finally, finished its run to a good pace. By that run, it brought us not only to a more promising stage of our nation's growth, but also to a much more difficult one. These five years to come are of vital importance in the shaping of the new India. If we succeed, as succeed we must and will, then we have laid sure foundations for the future growth.

4 There were other many important measures before Parliament, to which I need not refer. One, however, deserves particular notice. This was the Central Excise Bill<sup>4</sup> by which authority was taken to increase the rate of excise duty on mill cloth. This was by no means universally welcomed and, in fact, it evoked a good deal of criticism. And yet, I have no doubt that it was the right thing to do. Perhaps, few Governments and few Parliaments, on the eve of an election,

3. Members of Opposition in both Houses criticized the Government for not providing precise evaluation of the First Plan before seeking the approval of the Second Plan; demanded reduction in income tax and other taxes; and the setting up of a new steel plant. The Second Plan was approved by Rajya Sabha on 7 September and by Lok Sabha on 13 September 1956.

4. The Bill passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 3 and 8 September 1956. It aimed at checking the rise in the price of cloth by taxing more the increasing profits on ex mill prices.

would have ventured to take a step which, *prima facie*, was going to be unpopular. It was only after full discussion and deep thought that we agreed to it, realizing that it was necessary. I cannot prophesy what the result of it will be in regard to prices of cloth. We hope that prices will not rise or, at any rate, will not rise much. The whole purpose of this excise, strange as it may seem, was to keep down prices in the future.

5. Parliament ended its session peacefully and, on the whole, happily. There was a feeling of satisfaction in Members' minds, as of good work done. But if there was peace in Parliament, there was not much of it in evidence elsewhere. And, in some parts of the country, there was much trouble. While the fate of Bombay State hung in the balance, there had been rioting and arson and many other forms of misbehaviour in Bombay City and in parts of Maharashtra. When Parliament came to a decision about this great composite State of Bombay, Gujarat and especially the city of Ahmedabad witnessed a wave of resentment and angry denunciation. Even in this peaceful and disciplined State, nurtured by Gandhiji and afterwards by Sardar Patel, rioting raised its ugly head and was followed in some places by police firing and deaths. As usual, the original cause of dissatisfaction receded into the background and this firing and death became a major issue to rouse the people. Some, who had developed the habit of trying to fish in troubled waters, rushed to the scene from other parts of India and added fuel to the fire.

6. It would, however, be wrong to imagine that some outsiders created this crisis in Ahmedabad and Gujarat. There can be little doubt that the decision of Parliament came as a shock to the people there chiefly because of its suddenness and lack of mental preparation for it. There was an element of anger that the people of Gujarat could be ignored and bypassed and an impression that this was done to please others. This of course was not true. Circumstances, as I have said above forced the pace of events in Parliament and we had to come to a quick decision. There could be no

postponement of the issue at the last moment. The open trouble in Ahmedabad has subsided, but it appears that the minds of many are still agitated and those who seek trouble can take advantage of this disquiet.

7 I have written to you on several occasions about this growth of the spirit of violence, almost bordering on anarchy, which has been so evident in India during the past year or so. The question of States reorganization brought it to a head. But there have been other instances also. What happened in Gujarat was politically painful, because it was least expected. Why did we fail in our appraisal of the situation there? Are we so out of touch with the feelings and passions of our people? I cannot imagine that such an upheaval can take place suddenly and merely because of anger and a new turn of events. There must have been other and more long-standing causes which came to a head because of this apparent provocation. We may blame others and our judgement might be justified. But two facts stand out: one is this disastrous tendency to violence and destruction; other is the gulf between many of our people, and especially the younger generation, and the Government or the Congress or the older generation of leaders.

8 I think that we must give the most earnest thought to these matters and not merely rest content by blaming others. Introspection and a searching of heart by all of us is necessary. Wherein have we erred, what wrong steps have we taken? I believe we have worked hard and to the best of our ability and we have not spared ourselves. And yet somehow the spirit of violence and evil stalks over the land.

9 In the Punjab, there is occasional recrudescence of the senseless agitation against the regional formula.<sup>5</sup> A greater folly I cannot imagine. This takes the shape of personal violence. I think, however, that the mischief-makers in the Punjab are confined to some elements in a few cities, and the

<sup>5</sup> On 8 and 9 September the supporters of Maha Punjab movement had clashed with Congressmen at Jalandhar and Amritsar

mass of the people have shown little sympathy with them. This Maha Punjab agitation is the quintessence of narrow communalism which we have fought in the past and will have to fight in the future.

10 There has been yet another and rather an alarming exhibition of communalism in northern India. You know of the agitation against the book "Religious Leaders".<sup>6</sup> I can understand people objecting to some passages in that book and drawing attention to them. But, there was something much deeper, and it was obvious that mischief was afoot and had been deliberately organized. The offending passages were broadcast in cyclostyled papers by the very persons who objected to them. Demonstrations and riots took place, and these were met by counter-demonstrations and riots. Some students of the Aligarh University played a disgraceful part in this agitation. Their retiring Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Zakir Hussain,<sup>7</sup> has described this in stronger language than anyone else can use.<sup>8</sup> Some of the accounts that came from Aligarh about the students' behaviour were exaggerated. But, what actually happened was bad enough. As usual, Muslim communalism led to Hindu communalism taking the offensive. In the result, inevitably, many suffered.

11 But this exhibition of communalism had another and a dangerous aspect, in so far as some Muslims were concerned. The slogans that were raised were not only anti-national, but also treasonable. It is said that some people had come from Pakistan and had incited others to misbehave. This may be partly true, but there are enough people in India who can be expected to misbehave in this way. Some newspapers

6 Communal violence broke out in early September in several towns in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal over the reprinting of a book entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* by Henry and Dana Lee Thomas with a foreword by K.M. Munshi.

7 For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 439.

8 On 18 September 1956, Zakir Hussain expressed deep disappointment and a sense of shock at the "disgraceful manner" in which the students of Aligarh Muslim University had behaved. "I am sure that your action should have caused pain to the soul of the Prophet."

in Delhi itself and in other parts of North India are full of communal poison, both Muslim and Hindu. Communal organizations, which seem to lie low, suddenly raise their ugly heads whenever some incident occurs. The Hindu communal organizations are well known, and the Jan Sangh has now assumed some kind of leadership in mischief. Among the Muslims, the old Muslim League still exists in Malabar, though it has faded out from the rest of India. The Islami Jamait<sup>9</sup> is now the most aggressive organization of this type, issuing speeches and writings of a venomous kind. The freedom of the Press and of speech and our democratic Constitution spread out their wide umbrella to cover all this evil brood.

12. Probably, much of this trouble, as well as that connected with the States Reorganization, is due to the approaching general elections. All our opposition parties want to cash in whenever trouble occurs, in the hope that this will pay them dividends when the time for voting comes. Opposition is justified in taking advantage of the mistakes of Government. But it is sad to see how some of these people belonging to Opposition parties, in their over-eager desire for an election success, forget some of the basic principles and decencies that should cover public life in India. They talk of joint fronts against the Congress, and the Socialists and the communalists and the Communists all try to club up together against the Congress and the Government, each feeling too weak to stand on its own feet. Whatever happens, a chorus of voices is raised to condemn Government.

13. A recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* by their correspondent in India, who is no particular friend of the

9. Established in 1941, it aimed at revival of Islamic values and ideas and retreat to tradition in face of modern ideological challenges. It concerned itself with religious education, non-secular text-books, and facilities for Haj pilgrims and organized a campaign against a common civil code.

Government or the Congress, brought out this significant feature in the Indian landscape. It pointed out how Government is anxious to protect the minorities and show tenderness to opposing groups. It gave numerous instances of how Government had behaved so as not to cause offence, and then it goes on to say: "The only body of people who can be criticized in India with absolute immunity, is the Government: call them corrupt, inefficient, dictatorial, or Communist, and they will turn the other cheek." I suppose we do not always turn the other cheek but I think there is much truth in this statement. The great game not only for people in the Opposition, but for many others is to join in a chorus of condemnation of Government. This does not require any thinking or high degree of intellect or knowledge of facts Mr. Appleby, whose report you must have read, expressed his amazement at this aspect of India's life. Having praised our achievement and stated that the achievements visible here are enormous and of a size and quality probably never before or elsewhere approached together, he goes on to say: "India has been both building and serving democratic values while at the same time engaging in a monumental programme of economic development. Facing tremendous need and many great difficulties, both primary objectives have been served convincingly with vision, wisdom and hard practical performance. The two Five Year Plans have been brilliantly conceived in their analysis of needs and their balancing of values.... Most of the programmatic fields have been well directed, and the community development programme as a whole has been successful far beyond any reasonable expectation."

14 Having paid this handsome tribute, he goes on to say "Yet, in the face of these achievements, one finds in Parliament, in the Press, in the universities and in many conversations that citizens of pretension, cultivation and influence voice criticisms which tend to suggest a sense of failure and a lack of confidence. Criticisms.... are made in such sweeping and extravagant and in terms so little

recognizing the nature and means to administrative improvement, as to be damaging and threatening of increasing damage to India's great march forward. One is moved to observe that India's greatest need is for a sense of certainty concerning her own success."

15. We have encouraged opposition and criticism and even many kinds of action which few countries would tolerate. I think we have been right in doing so. But it is time that people realized that politics and economics or any kind of progress or democracy in India are not served by violence, indecency and vulgarity. We have to face difficult and serious problems which require capacity for thought, restraint and sustained action. We stand out in the world as a mature nation possessing some degree of wisdom, and yet, we see this infantile and unintelligent behaviour which rejoices the hearts of our enemies.

16. I do not wish to give you a pessimistic and unbalanced picture of India. If I have stressed one unfortunate and distressful aspect, I should like you to remember other and far more important ones. Think of the mighty works that are being carried on in all parts of India by the people of India; of our brilliant young men and women who are working in our scientific laboratories and institutes; of the new and ever-growing army of our engineers and technicians who are building this New India; of our young men in our armed forces who fill me with pride whenever I see them and find them intelligent, keen-minded and courageous; of the tens of thousands of our workers in the community development schemes who are filled with enthusiasm and a crusading spirit in the great task of changing rural India; of many of our younger civil servants who at an early stage carry heavy responsibilities; and indeed of the masses of the people of India working over this vast land and keeping this great machine going. Instead of appreciating and encouraging this work, some of our people are bent on running down not only the Government, but their country and all their countrymen and on creating an atmosphere of defeatism and frustration.

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17. I have laid stress on the bad side not because it is dominant, but because even a little evil carries its poison far and we have to be aware of it so that we can meet its menace. Nothing is more dangerous than complacency and self-righteousness and living in one's own shell regardless of changing conditions and the new thoughts and urges that fill the new generation. Most of us belong to a passing generation. We have grown up under different conditions and have been moulded by other forces. Now, even the struggle for India's freedom, which meant so much to us, is past history and its most moving episodes are hardly remembered by the new generation. And yet, it is this new generation which will have to carry the burden of India tomorrow.

18. I spoke the other day<sup>10</sup> about this new world that is rapidly growing around us, the new world of science and technology and engineering. In the measure we fit in with this new world, we shall progress. Old slogans have ceased to have much meaning today. The new world requires new minds and new thinking and new training. It is going to be a world primarily of the votaries of science and the experts in technology and engineering and the infinite progeny of science. While this new world is gradually taking shape, the hard shell of the old encloses it and prevents its growth.

19. I have often told you that the biggest revolutionary change that is taking place in India is in our rural areas through our community development schemes. I do not mean to imply that every community project or national extension service block is an example to glorify; but, by and large, these projects and blocks are bringing about revolutionary changes in our countryside. In recognition of this fact and also because it has become essential to ally this vital movement with food production, we have constituted a separate Ministry<sup>11</sup> to deal with community development

10. In his reply to the debate on second Five Year Plan in Lok Sabha on 13 September 1956

11. On 8 September 1956

Shri S.K. Dey,<sup>12</sup> the dynamic Administrator of these community schemes, now becomes the Minister in charge, working in close cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Ministry.

20. This is a significant step which indicates our new outlook—the importance we attach to community development as well as the vital necessity of increasing food production. I have written to you often in regard to the essential nature of the problem and I want you and all your Ministers, and more especially your Ministers of Agriculture, to realize their responsibility in this matter. It is around this growth in food and agricultural produce that we shall not only build up the prosperity of our peasantry and the stability of our agrarian economy, but provide the means for the development of our industry.

21. There is another important point for us to bear in mind and this relates to co-operation. There is much talk of co-operation and we have had some reports from China and other countries. What exactly is co-operation? In its essence, it is not merely an organization to provide credit, but a social movement, a means by which social changes are brought about. Therefore, essentially, it must be a people's movement and not something imposed from above. In the past, the cooperative movement in India did not prosper greatly because it was too official and too much tied up with intricate rules which impeded growth. We want to make it a vital movement, a voluntary growth from the village upwards. It is round the village multi-purpose cooperative, the panchayat, and the school, that the life of the village should revolve. That will be the foundation of democracy and self-reliant growth.

22. There may be larger cooperatives. But if these lose touch with the village and become too much controlled by officials from above, then they will lose the real spirit that we wish to evolve. During the last two or three years, there has been some growth in small cooperatives in the community project and national extension service areas. I am told that

about a million and a half families have associated themselves in these village cooperatives without any special help. This shows that where the right lead is given, the response is good.

23. The next five years, indeed the next two or three years, are vital for our food and agriculture. We should aim at doubling our food production within ten years. I am convinced that this is a feasible proposition, if it is tackled through these community schemes and in an intensive way. Real progress depends on intensive cultivation and not on more land being cultivated. If more land is available, certainly it should be cultivated. But, I do hope that this will not be at the expense of our forests which are so necessary for our well-being. We have to approach this problem in a methodical way, and each community block must draw up its own programme of development and spread it out to each family in that area.

24. Whether it is in regard to food production or any other activity, we have to go down to each family. It is not enough for Governments to pass fine laws or issue good instructions. They have to reach the cultivator or the worker or the professional man and to be implemented by them. Fortunately, we have now got a very fine organization reaching down to the village—the community project and national extension service. We can use that organization for any purpose, provided always that we can explain our objectives to the peasant and gain his willing support.

25. I have laid stress on food production through the community schemes. But this does not mean that we should give up the other activities of the community projects or the national extension service. It is these activities that enthuse the people and create a feeling of pride and confidence in them. In the final analysis, it is this feeling of pride and self-reliance that counts.

26. Even as we have to approach each family for our food production programme we have to do so for our State loans and savings scheme. The recent su... of the State loans on

which I should like to congratulate you, has indicated what great reserves we have in our people if we can but tap them. In the States where the approach was made to the family, the results have been startlingly successful. I should like to congratulate specially the States of Madras and Andhra.

27 I have written to you at great length about our domestic matters. And yet, all these internal developments are closely tied up with external happenings. If there is war, all our plans are shattered. If our exports and imports cannot go through the Suez Canal, all our estimates and planning are powerfully affected. The Suez Canal issue is thus not merely an important world issue in which we take interest, but something intimately related to our own work and future. We have struggled hard to help where we can in lessening tension and in moving the chief parties concerned towards a negotiated settlement. A superficial view would indicate that the differences between the two viewpoints are much too wide apart to be bridged. But, on closer analysis, you will see that the gap is not in reality so wide. The real difficulty is not the Suez Canal but all the fears and apprehensions, the vested interests and the new urges that lie behind it. There is oil, of course, which runs the modern world, and there is the conflict between the rising Arab nationalism and such elements of Western control as still exist in those areas.

28 I think that war is not likely to come now. But, it must be remembered that we were on the verge of war some days ago. Even now, the danger is not past. What is more likely, however, is the continuation of a cold war in this region, with all its tensions and inevitable losses. Mr. Dulles talks of converting the Suez Canal into a "dry ditch" by sending ships round the Cape of Good Hope. As I wrote, the conference of some principal users' countries is meeting in London,<sup>13</sup> and our colleague, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, is

13. Eighteen nations began their meeting at London on 19 September to form the Suez Canal Users' Association to ensure the users' right of navigation and control over the canal. Earlier, on 16 September, Nasser had after rejecting the canal users' plan insisted on a new agreement being arrived at with the user countries through negotiations.

in consultation with President Nasser in Cairo. I do not know if you had occasion to read Krishna Menon's speeches at the London Conference<sup>14</sup> which was held last month. These speeches were important because they brought out clearly what the position was.<sup>15</sup> As a representative of India, he carries a great responsibility in this matter, and we must all wish him success in helping to bridge the gulf that exists

29. Any failure to do so means a new and indefinite period of conflict. This may not be a big-scale war to begin with, but it will upset much that is happening in the world and keep us on the verge of a big war. Egypt, of course, might suffer, but I think the Western Powers would ultimately suffer much more because they have much more to lose.

30. In another four days' time,<sup>16</sup> I am going to Saudi Arabia for a brief visit. This was fixed up long ago, and has nothing to do with the Suez Canal. In India, we are going to have a multitude of distinguished visitors during this winter season. Among them are the Emperor of Ethiopia,<sup>17</sup> the President of Syria,<sup>18</sup> the President of Lebanon,<sup>19</sup> the President of Indonesia,<sup>20</sup> possibly Premier Chou En-lai of China,<sup>21</sup> Vice-Premier Chen Yun<sup>22</sup> of China, the Prime Minister of Poland,<sup>23</sup> the Prime Minister of Nepal<sup>24</sup> and

14. See *ante*, p. 401.

15. Disagreeing with the U.S. Plan which called for a system of international control of the canal by the users, Krishna Menon proposed that a consultative body should help Egypt in keeping control.

16. From 24 to 27 September 1956.

17. Haile Selassie. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 112. He visited India from 25 to 27 October 1956.

18. Shakuri al-Kuwatli (1891-1967). President of Syria, 1943-47 and 1955-58. He visited India from 17 to 21 January 1957.

19. The visit by Camille Chamoun did not take place.

20. Ahmed Soekarno. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 222. He also could not visit India on this occasion.

21. From 28 November to 10 December 1956.

22. His proposed visit to India was postponed.

23. Josef Cyrankiewicz visited India from 24 March to 3 April 1957.

24. Tanka Prasad Acharya (b. 1912) Founder of Nepal Praja Parishad party Prime Minister 1955-57 He visited India from 3 to 18 Decem-

20 September 1956

4+5

Lord<sup>25</sup> and Lady Attlee. This is a formidable list. And, then there will be many distinguished visitors for our Unesco Conference<sup>26</sup> and Buddha Jayanti celebrations.<sup>27</sup> Many of these eminent guests of ours will travel about India and may visit your State. In the past, you have been good enough to give your co-operation in welcoming these guests. I hope you will do so again. You will, of course, be informed of their programmes as soon as these have been prepared.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. For b fn. see Vol. 1, p. 29 They visited India from 11 November to 13 December 1956.

26. The ninth session of the Unesco General Conference was held at New Delhi from 5 November to 5 December 1956.

27. As part of Buddha Jayanti celebrations lasting over a week from 24 to 30 November 1956, an international symposium on Buddhism's contribution to art, letters and philosophy was organized at New Delhi

New Delhi  
20 September, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I sent you today my fortnightly letter. In this I referred to the recent communal outbreaks in some parts of India in connection with the book "Religious Leaders". There is no doubt that the Muslim demonstrations were particularly encouraged by some mischievous persons; some of these are well-known. The fact that an editor of a paper should actually publish all the offending passages and draw wide attention to them itself indicates the mischievous intention

2. After these demonstrations, in the course of which objectionable language and slogans were raised, Hindu communal organizations, the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha and the like, came into the field with their counter-demonstrations and slogans which were equally objectionable. Looting of Muslim shops took place. There were cases of stabbing too. In some places the police had to resort to firing.

3. All this indicates how easy it is for communal passions to be roused. We cannot be complacent about these matters, nor should we wait for trouble to occur before we take action.

4. I think that even in these recent disturbances some quicker action on the part of the district authorities, where trouble was feared, would have helped in preventing this trouble spreading more especially because of what newspapers write or processions which, in such cases, almost always lead to violence. I feel that such processions should

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

be checked whenever there is tension or any likelihood of disturbance.

5. This whole idea of taking out processions is a peculiar feature of the Indian scene in crowded cities. It is the duty of the State to prevent obstruction of traffic and annoyance to people in the streets, quite apart from other considerations. A procession undoubtedly obstructs traffic and annoys the passersby, shopkeepers, etc. Usually, when tensions exist, shopkeepers become afraid and close their shops.

6. The problem of how to deal with newspapers is a peculiarly difficult one. I have personally come to the conclusion that we must have fresh legislation to deal with the spread of communal hatred by newspapers, etc. I would confine this to offensive communal writings, and not extend it at all in the political or other fields. This matter is one of high importance and I feel sure that we shall have the approval of the general public if we take stronger measures than we have done thus far in dealing with communal incitement and violence.

7. I have an idea that most of our Governments have become much too legal-minded. When a newspaper or an individual misbehaves, we dare not take action lest the law courts might acquit the person concerned. If we proceeded under the Detention Act, we are again doubtful what the Advisory Board might do. So we spend a long time in taking legal advice and meanwhile the situation changes. It is seldom that legal advice can be quite clear in such matters.

8. I feel that even in existing conditions we should act much more promptly. If we are convinced that a newspaper editor or any other individual has spread communal hatred and incited people to communal violence, we should arrest him and either proceed against him in a court of law or keep him under preventive detention. We should not be afraid of his being acquitted. It may even not be necessary to keep him for long. The point is that a crisis has to be met by immediate and effective action and usually arrests of obvious offenders is the best preventive. Naturally the local authorities will

have to be the judges of what action to take. What I wish to point out is that they must not live under constant fear of someone whom they have arrested being acquitted. It does not matter much if he is acquitted. Government will have discharged its function and the general public will realize that we are going to stand no nonsense in regard to communal troubles. In fact such acquittals in obviously bad cases would strengthen the hands of Government to bring legislation to deal with such matters.

9. While Muslim communal organizations sometimes create trouble in the way of provocative speeches and slogans, it is obvious that the ultimate sufferers are bound to be Muslims or other minorities if communal passions are roused. This has been the case in this agitation about the book "Religious Leaders".

10. I am venturing to write to you so that you might give thought to this matter and not hesitate to take action when you think it necessary. I have an impression that we have been rather slow in this respect recently and allowed trouble to grow. Well-known bad characters of the goonda type and notorious communal fanatics who spread poison from day to day are allowed to continue their mischievous activities without let or hindrance. When some actual trouble occurs, usually some fairly innocent people are arrested and the mischief-makers escape.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
14 October, 1956  
*Vijaya Dashmi*

My dear Chief Minister,

As I write to you this letter, the city of Delhi is awaiting, with a good deal of apprehension, the rapid advance of the swollen Jamuna river. This flood is coming nearer and nearer like an army bent on aggression. We have had enough notice of it, and such steps as can be taken have been taken. The various embankments have been strengthened and are guarded night and day by our Sappers and Miners in case any breach occurs. Large low-lying areas have been evacuated both by cattle and human beings.

2. Because of these precautions, perhaps, the damage that is likely to occur will be limited. In Delhi we are in a position to take rapid measures of protection, even though they may not be wholly adequate, for nature in its fury is still stronger than man's effort. But vast areas in India, more especially the rural areas and the small towns, have no such protective apparatus. And today a good part of North and East India has been converted into a sea. I am told that, flying from Kashmir to Delhi, one finds these wide stretches of water as soon as one leaves the mountains. So, also, in going from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. Here in Delhi and, no doubt, in many other places there has been incessant and continuous rain, as at the height of the monsoon. Today was the first more or less clear day after a long interval.

3. From all reports received, the damage done in West Bengal in Uttar Pradesh and in Bihar by these rains and floods has been enormous. Areas which are used to

periodical floods, as in northern Bihar have, to some extent, adapted themselves to this recurring disaster. On this occasion, however, vast areas which were unused to floods and unprepared for them have suffered this calamity, and I am told that, in West Bengal and parts of Uttar Pradesh especially, thousands of villages are today represented by just rubble and mounds of earth. Behind this unleashing of the waters lies human misery and great loss of our crops which are of vital importance to us. Immediately, the problem always is to give food and some improvised shelter to these shelterless human beings. But we have to think at the same time of what to do about them in the future. It is not much good allowing them to build their mud huts again in the same places and thus inviting disaster afresh. Perhaps, from a long-term point of view, this disaster may be an advantage as it gives us an opportunity to fashion our villages in a better way and, thus, to put an end to the miserable hovels in which our people have lived for so long. That is a vast undertaking. And yet, there is no escape from it. And, why indeed should we try to escape, however big the task?

4. We have, therefore, to think from now onwards of this broader planning of our villages. The first thing to remember is that a village should be situated on higher ground so that the houses might escape the recurring floods. This has been done, I believe, to some extent, in the past few years in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and the results have been satisfactory. It has to be done now on a much bigger scale. Secondly, the building of houses and other structures in the village must be done in a planned and hygienic way. Each village should have at least one decent and biggish building which can serve as a school or as a community centre or, in times of emergency, as a refuge.

5. Just at the time when we had to face many difficult problems in connection with our second Five Year Plan and the economic situation, we have to face this rather overwhelming situation. Perhaps it is as well that we have to do

so because this may help to put a new vitality into us to meet the challenge of nature by the challenge of our manhood.

6 Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a brief visit to Saudi Arabia.<sup>1</sup> This was a new type of country for me, new not because it was largely desert, but because of the impact of dollars and a money economy on an ancient, simple and virile people. I saw a great deal of construction, big solid buildings growing up and broad roads being built, where there had been small straggling towns containing chiefly mud houses. These new houses were full of air-conditioners and electric coolers and many other gadgets which contrasted strangely with the bare and bleak country around. I was given a very friendly and cordial welcome not only by the King,<sup>2</sup> but the people wherever I went, and I liked the people. But, always, I was thinking of how this intrusion of dollars would affect the life of the people, and I was not a little apprehensive that that effect might not be all to the good. Indeed, I mentioned it to my hosts there and asked them if there was not any danger of the people growing soft and losing the qualities which had enabled them to maintain their freedom and their distinctive way of living. The desert, like the mountains, breeds hardy people. They have to contend against the harsher aspects of nature and their very survival demands physical toughness and a capacity for endurance. Civilization has developed chiefly in the richer valleys and the plains where nature is soft and man has had greater leisure to lead an easier life. But that easy life itself had led to softening of his fibre, even though there has been intellectual growth.

7. In Saudi Arabia there is not only the great and inhospitable desert, but also the stern, puritanical tenets of the Wahabi sect of Islam, to which the ruling family belongs. In theory and, presumably, in practice, the law is the old Mosaic Law as interpreted by the Muslim law-givers of old in the Shariat. It is a hard law which does not deal

1 From 24 to 27 September 1956

2 Abdul Aziz Saud. For b fn. see Vo 3 p 534

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5. Just at the time when we had to face many difficult problems in connection with our second Five Year Plan and the economic situation, we have to face this rather overwhelming situation. Perhaps it is as well that we have to do

so because this may help to put a new vitality into us to meet the challenge of nature by the challenge of our manhood.

6 Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a brief visit to Saudi Arabia.<sup>1</sup> This was a new type of country for me, new not because it was largely desert, but because of the impact of dollars and a money economy on an ancient, simple and virile people. I saw a great deal of construction, big solid buildings growing up and broad roads being built, where there had been small straggling towns containing chiefly mud houses. These new houses were full of air-conditioners and electric coolers and many other gadgets which contrasted strangely with the bare and bleak country around. I was given a very friendly and cordial welcome not only by the King,<sup>2</sup> but the people wherever I went, and I liked the people. But, always, I was thinking of how this intrusion of dollars would affect the life of the people, and I was not a little apprehensive that that effect might not be all to the good. Indeed, I mentioned it to my hosts there and asked them if there was not any danger of the people growing soft and losing the qualities which had enabled them to maintain their freedom and their distinctive way of living. The desert, like the mountains, breeds hardy people. They have to contend against the harsher aspects of nature and their very survival demands physical toughness and a capacity for endurance. Civilization has developed chiefly in the richer valleys and the plains where nature is soft and man has had greater leisure to lead an easier life. But that easy life itself had led to softening of his fibre, even though there has been intellectual growth.

7 In Saudi Arabia there is not only the great and inhospitable desert, but also the stern, puritanical tenets of the Wahabi sect of Islam, to which the ruling family belongs. In theory and, presumably, in practice, the law is the old Mosaic Law as interpreted by the Muslim law-givers of old in the Shariat. It is a hard law which does not deal

1 From 24 to 27 September 1956

2 Abdul Aziz Saud. For b fn. see Vol 3 p 534

leniently with a transgressor. It is perhaps not difficult to impose such a law in the broad stretches of the desert where life is simple and temptations are extremely limited. What will happen when life becomes complicated and temptations grow with the advent of what is called modern civilization? How long will the old restraints continue then? The other Arab countries—Syria, Lebanon and Egypt—have had a taste of modern civilization to a far greater extent and in the course of a hundred and fifty years or so, have gradually adapted themselves to it. In Saudi Arabia the impact is sudden and is likely to be overwhelming.

8 Arabia covers a vast area, almost as big as India. And yet, the population of Saudi Arabia is estimated to be (there has never been any census) about six or seven millions only. Gradually, a good part of this population is drifting to the major towns which are growing rapidly. It is not easy for the Bedouin with his nomadic habits to settle down anywhere. The present King's father<sup>3</sup> encouraged the Bedouin tribes to settle and, to some extent, succeeded. Even so, the Bedouins felt more at home in their tents than in solid houses. Now, as a result of the discovery of oil and its consequences, this movement is much faster. Oil gushes out from innumerable pumps and is sent to the ends of the earth, bringing dollars in return. The dollars again are sent abroad to purchase luxury cars and consumer goods of all descriptions. I do not think that much thought has been given yet to the development of industry. The basic products of Arabia today are dates and oil. I have little doubt that after this first flush of excitement is over, the problems of industrial development will follow. Meanwhile, there is this reaction from age-old restraint and hard living and a desire for the comforts and luxuries of life. Schools are being put up rather slowly, and some attention is being paid to defence installations.

9 Oil has brought wealth to Arabia. But there is a distinct possibility of something even more valuable than oil

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Saud 1880-1958 King of Saudi Arabia 932 58

changing the face of this great country. This is water. There is drilling for water and engineers have found it, deep down below the surface, about 14000 meters which, I believe, is nearly a mile. It is said with some confidence, though there is no certainty yet, that far below this great desert there is a vast sea of water, hundreds of miles long. If this great reservoir is tapped adequately, it will have a tremendous effect on this country which has been a desert for ages past.

10 My visit to Arabia was a great experience for me which I liked. It had also certain desirable political consequences and brought our country and Saudi Arabia a little nearer to one another. Arabia, though backward and undeveloped, still remains the ancient homeland of the Arab race and it was from Arabia that they spread out more than 1300 years ago to conquer vast stretches of Africa and the Eurasian continent. Not only because of the holy places of Islam being situated in Arabia, and the annual Haj pilgrimage which brings large numbers of Muslims to Mecca, but because of innumerable emotional attachments, it has a great pull on Muslims everywhere. Politically, it has some importance of course, but Egypt is at present and has been for some time the premier Arab country. The newspapers of Cairo go all over the Arab world and they have a much larger circulation than Indian newspapers. Egypt, as well as Lebanon and Syria, have been the meeting places of modern Europe with the Arab world and Western Asia. In a sense, it has been a meeting place for many centuries. The old Crusades were fought in what is Palestine and Syria and Lebanon now. Most of us have read about these Crusades from books written by Western authors with a natural bent towards the Christian West against the Islamic East. More neutral accounts have rather tilted this balance and shown that Western Asia was more developed and civilized at the time of the Crusades than Europe. In fact, the main effect of the Crusades, apart from the final defeat of the Crusaders, was the influence of Western Asian civilization on Europe. Many arts and even luxuries crept into Europe then.

11 There was another powerful influence on Europe

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<sup>3</sup> Ibn Saud (1880-1953) King of Saudi Arabia, 1932 53

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coming from Arab Spain. Cordoba was a great centre of philosophy, medicine, and arts and sciences during the middle ages when Europe was supposed to be going through a period of intellectual darkness. Professors from Cordoba went to the Sorbonne in Paris and to other great universities of Europe. Even today Spain bears the impress of the long period of Arab rule there.

12. After a bright period, during which Baghdad and Cordoba were the centres of civilization and culture, there was decay. The Arabs were driven out from Spain, and the Arab empire, of which Baghdad was the capital, went to pieces. It did not recover. The Ottoman Turks came there and the period of Turkish rule of the Arab countries in Western Asia was not noted for any growth or advance and the Arabs were treated as a subject race by the Turks. The Europeans then came there, as they came to many other parts of Asia, and established their dominion. The new and vital Europe with its growing science and industrial civilization became dominant. In Syria and Lebanon the influence was chiefly French. In Egypt it was British.

13. An American University<sup>4</sup> in Beirut played an important part in not only building up a new middle class but also helped in reviving Arabic as a literary language. In this way Cairo and Beirut and Damascus became new centres of a mixed culture which affected other Arab lands. Even today university trained people from Cairo and Beirut spread out over Arabia and other Arab countries as engineers, doctors, teachers, etc.

14. I should like to make clear that Arabia and Saudi Arabia are not synonymous terms. Saudi Arabia is of course far the biggest part of Arabia, but there are other independent or semi-independent States also. When I was at Riyadh,<sup>5</sup> the capital, and Jeddah, the port on the Red Sea, I was not far from the Suez Canal. This issue was dominant. The very day I reached Riyadh President Nasser left some hours before I

4. It was founded in 1866.

5 On 24 September 1956

arrived there.<sup>6</sup> He had come for a consultations with King Saud. Some people thought it rather odd that he should not have waited for my arrival there. As a matter of fact, President Nasser sent a message to me that he would gladly stay on to meet me and he did not wish to appear discourteous by going away in a hurry. I replied to him that I quite understood the position and he need not stay on. There would be no misunderstanding on my part if he went back to his other duties. In fact, I suggested that he might do so. I was not going to Saudi Arabia for a tripartite conference.

15 This brings me to the problem of the Suez Canal which has been a dominant international issue during the past two and a half months. We have just heard that some temporary agreement has been arrived at on some basic issues between Egypt on the one hand and the Western countries on the other in the Security Council.<sup>7</sup> This does not take us very far, and yet it is an important development and one can hardly conceive now of a complete break in the future. I need not tell you that in this matter India has played a part which has been considerable though rather behind the scenes. The attitude of Egypt throughout these negotiations has appeared to me to be restrained and reasonable. It is on the other side that there has been lack of restraint. Whatever one may think of the original and rather sudden action of Egypt in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company overnight, subsequent to that Egypt has functioned with commendable moderation. We have been in close touch with the Egyptian Government and, as you know, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon

6. President Nasser of Egypt had a meeting with the Syrian President and the King of Saudi Arabia from 22 to 24 September 1956 to discuss the Suez Canal issue.

7. The formula agreed upon by the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Britain and France on 11 October which was to form the basis for further negotiations provided that (1) Suez Canal to remain open to all ships, (2) Egypt's sovereignty to be respected, (3) operation of the canal to be insulated from the internal politics of any country, (4) tolls and other matters to be decided between Egypt and the users, (5) proportion of dues for development of the canal to be earmarked and (6) any dispute between Egypt and the to be settled through arbitration

has undertaken arduous journeys on our behalf. He is now in New York. We have not at any time tried to impose any viewpoint upon Egypt, but have attempted to explore various possibilities of settlement, always keeping in view Egyptian sovereignty and national interest. We are, of course, anxious and eager to prevent any warlike developments as well as to see that the Suez Canal functions properly.

16. I have found in some newspapers that a curious charge has been brought against me to the effect that I wrote to President Tito criticizing Egypt's action because it was said not to fit in with our Brioni statement. This charge is without foundation. We have naturally been in intimate touch not only with Egypt, but with Yugoslavia and some of our neighbour countries. It is our practice to keep in touch with them whenever any important occasion arises.

17. Two or three days ago, an unfortunate leakage took place in Delhi of the letter<sup>8</sup> Mr. Black,<sup>9</sup> President of the World Bank, wrote to our Finance Minister.<sup>10</sup> We decided that the whole correspondence should be released<sup>11</sup> and you may have seen Mr. Black's letter and our Finance Minister's reply.<sup>12</sup> These have attracted much attention both in some

8 In his letter to the Finance Minister on 5 September 1956, Black cautioned against Government's excessive reliance on deficit financing, priority to development through public sector and ambitious planning and feared that these might force the Bank to recommend no grant of further loans to India

9 Eugene R. Black (b. 1898), American banker; Director, U.S. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1947-49; President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1949-63

10. T.T. Krishnamachari.

11. On 10 October 1956.

12. In his reply on 16 September, T.T. Krishnamachari said that "nobody need have any anxiety on the score of the financial stability of India being imperilled" as her Government's policies were sound; that the State enterprises were more efficient than the private ones and it was not lack of internal finance but shortage of foreign exchange that affected the rapid development of the economy

foreign countries and in India. Mr. Black raises an important question of basic policy. He is, as is to be expected, firmly committed to private enterprise in the development of a country. He does not approve of our socialistic tendencies and State ownership of industrial undertakings. That represents the fundamental outlook in the United States of America. It is not for us to criticize what may be good or bad for the United States, but we have accepted the goal of socialism in India, not just for some idealistic and ideological reasons, but rather for strictly practical considerations. It is true that we are governed, and rightly so, by idealistic reasons also. But our whole approach has been pragmatic and we have not accepted any dogma.

18. Nearly two years ago, we adopted, at the Avadi Congress<sup>13</sup> as well as in Parliament,<sup>14</sup> the socialist pattern of society as our goal. That was not a sudden decision, but a natural development of our thinking and our national movement. Ever since the twenties, the Congress had been favourably inclined towards socialistic ideas. It is true that Congress thinking was rather vague and not precise, and was governed chiefly by idealistic considerations and a desire to raise the under-privileged and to eliminate vested interests and the big differences between various classes and groups in the country. Some Congressmen, undoubtedly, thought more precisely and definitely about this socialist pattern. When the Socialist Party was formed within the Congress twenty years ago, this did not mean that the rest of the Congress was against socialism.

19. There has been much confusion not only in India but elsewhere about the content of socialism and the methods to be adopted to achieve it. Outside India, even the communist version of socialism and the way to achieve it, which have been rigid dogmas, are in process of undergoing some change. In the Soviet Union, there is greater flexibility in approach, and in the other Communist countries of eastern

<sup>13</sup> See ante p 125

<sup>14</sup> See ante p 112.

Europe there is a new ferment of ideas. Members of the Communist Party of India, bred up in subservience to rigid dogmas, have been rather at sea because of these developments.

20. The Socialist Party led by Dr. Lohia<sup>15</sup> can hardly be taken seriously, either in its objectives or its methods. The Praja Socialist Party, which is still supposed to represent the mainstream of socialist thought in India, has displayed, in recent times, an amazing confusion of ideas. Indeed, in some ways, their prominent leaders like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>16</sup> have drifted away from the basic tenets of socialism. Some raise their voices against State ownership and condemn it as State capitalism. Some even equate democracy with private enterprise and, thus, indicate some kind of a basic conflict between socialism and democracy. The old socialist view has been, on the other hand, that there is an inherent conflict between democracy and capitalism, and democracy can only find fulfilment when it extends itself from the political field to the economic field.

21. I think it is important that there should be clear thinking. Words and slogans often lose their original meaning and, to some extent, even get rather out of date because of changes. We cannot allow ourselves to become victims of slogans without thinking out clearly what they mean in present circumstances. Unfortunately, people in all parties, including the Congress, are far too much in the habit of allowing a phrase or a slogan to take the place of thought. Because of this, the Communists have become quite out of date in spite of their brave professions. Such reputation and prestige as they have is largely derived from the achievements of the Soviet Union or of China. Members

<sup>15</sup> Rammanohar Lohia (1910-1967). Member, Congress Socialist Party, 1934-48; General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 1954; Chairman of Socialist Party from 1956 to 1964 when it again merged with P.S.P. to form Samyukt Socialist Party; Member, Lok Sabha, 1963-67.

<sup>16</sup> For b fn see Vol 3 p 51

of the Socialist Parties in India equally seem to live in a bygone age. So do, let us admit, most Congressmen.

22. It is no easy matter to define socialism precisely, for Socialists themselves differ in their definitions. I do not propose to enter into this rather complicated question in this letter, but I should like to point out some broad considerations which we should have in view. Some people think that socialism means an egalitarian society, that is, equality for everybody and nothing more. Socialism certainly aims at a removal of differences and equal opportunities for all. But socialism is much more than this. The very word came into use after the industrial revolution had ushered in modern capitalism. It was in fact a child, as capitalism was, of the industrial revolution which for the first time rapidly increased the productive apparatus of society and therefore added greatly to the available wealth. For the first time in human history the prospect of a measure of well-being for everybody came into view and various theories were advanced how to achieve it. Marx studied the early days of capitalism with remarkable insight and prophesied that there would be progressively an accumulation of wealth in ever fewer hands and greater misery for ever larger numbers of people. This would ultimately result in a revolution ushering in the Communist era. Indeed, he expected this revolution to take place every time there was some crisis in capitalism.

23. Marx has been proved right in his analysis in many ways, but he has also been proved wrong in other ways. Capitalism has survived and prospered and even resulted in much higher standards for the industrialized communities of the West. But it is true that the new stage of capitalism, though markedly different from the old stage, bears out the Marxian analysis in so far as it is leading to big monopolies. In the highly industrialized countries a few huge combines have developed and wield enormous power. The main argument in favour of private enterprise was that it encouraged large-scale competition. With the development of these monopolies the sphere of competition becomes

lesser and lesser and the self-regulating character of the old competitive economy ceases to function.

24. In spite of this growth of monopoly capitalism, to some extent capitalism has been kept in check by two developments which were not before Marx. One is the development of democratic government leading to adult franchise; the other is the development of powerful trade unions in the industrialized countries. Both these have helped in improving the standards of the common man and in checking the predatory character of capitalism. Thus, while capitalism has undergone a considerable change, the conception of socialism also has to be adapted to new conditions. So long as private monopolies remain, it is not possible for any socialist structure of society to develop. It becomes essential, therefore, for society to control the major means of production and to prevent these monopolies from developing. And yet, the very nature of capitalism, aided by continuing technological progress, is to develop these monopolies.

25. Another aspect which is to be borne in mind is the terrific pace of technological growth and the release of new sources of power, finally culminating in atomic energy. While it was bad enough for monopoly capitalism to wield great influence previously, and in fact to grow bigger and bigger, the prospect of this new source of power being controlled by it brings grave dangers.

26. The result of all this is that even in the highly industrialized countries capitalism, while changing considerably, has reached a stage of monopoly utilizing the latest technology to increase its power to a degree which might in future endanger society as a whole. In India, the position is not so developed and is different. It would be folly for us to pursue a path which leads to these dangers and deadlocks.

27. We have, I think, adopted a wise course in trying to keep this basic factor in view and yet allowing private enterprise to develop in the secondary fields which are not of

strategic importance. Gradually the public sector will grow both absolutely and relatively, and the whole economy of the country will be controlled by it. It is interesting to compare what is happening in a number of other countries in Asia, more especially Western Asia, with what we have done in India. Very large sums of money have been given to these countries as aid or as profit from oil production. These sums have been spent in some improvements, some development of light industries and an increasing consumption of consumer goods. There has been no basic change in the general level of the people. Nor has any foundation been laid for any future progress. In effect these large sums have been largely wasted. We must learn from this.

28 I am sorry to inflict these theoretical arguments upon you. I was impelled to do so because of Mr. Black's letter. I realize that what I have said is rather superficial and very incomplete. What I wanted to do, however, was to induce people to think about these problems so that we can give a greater content to our ideas of socialism. Those ideas can no longer be merely utopian. They have to be based on some logical and scientific appraisal of conditions as they are today.

29 I am going to Assam for four days early next week. The month of November is going to be a very heavy month for us in Delhi and elsewhere with the Unesco Conference and the visits of many eminent guests from abroad. Some of these guests will, no doubt, visit other parts of India also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 56

New Delhi  
8 December, 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter was sent to you, I think, on the Vijaya Dashmi Day, October 14. I am exceedingly sorry for this big gap. The measure of my distress at times is to some extent the measure of the many activities that have rather overwhelmed me during this period. We have gone through, and indeed we are still going through, an international crisis of great magnitude which has demanded not only time but hard thinking. We have had the Unesco Conference which attracted a very large number of eminent persons. We have also had the Buddha Jayanti celebrations which also attracted many distinguished visitors. Apart from the work done in these conferences, it became necessary to meet many of these guests of ours as well as to participate in numerous functions.

2. I do not propose to give you a list of our special visitors, but I would like to mention four of them: U Nu of Burma, Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of China, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

3. I do not know how exactly to deal with this long period of seven weeks. There is much to write because event has succeeded event and sensation followed sensation. So fast has been the pace of these events that much that happened in October or November is already rather distant history and there is little point in my repeating here. I shall however

say something about the international situation and some of the consequences of the events in Egypt<sup>1</sup> and Hungary.<sup>2</sup>

4 What happened in Egypt and Hungary is of course of first importance for a variety of reasons and the world has been rather near a major war. I should, however, like to lay stress on two aspects particularly.

5 The first relates to Anglo-French action in Egypt. It is patent that this action has failed completely. It was aimed principally at bringing down the Nasser Government there and establishing a more pliable tool. This transformation was supposed to lead to a re-establishment of British influence over Western Asia and of French influence in Northern Africa and especially Algeria. In the result, it is President Nasser who has come out of it with greater strength and far greater prestige, and both the U.K. and France have suffered tremendously in their prestige, apart from the great losses that they sustained.

1 On 29 October, Israeli forces attacked Egyptian forces and captured Gaza strip and Sinai. In an ultimatum the next day Britain and France asked Egypt and Israel to cease fire, desist from fighting near the Suez Canal and asked Egypt to allow their forces to be stationed in Port Said, Ismailia and Suez. As Egypt rejected the ultimatum, an all-out offensive was launched on the next day by Britain and France. After fierce fighting all parties agreed on a cease-fire on 5 November, and on 7 November, the U.N. General Assembly called upon Anglo-French and Israeli forces to withdraw from Egyptian soil.

2 In the last week of October widespread protests in Hungary led to the formation of an all-party Government led by Imre Nagy, an ex-Premier, who on assuming power, announced free elections, end to one-party rule, withdrawal of Soviet troops and withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Government at first agreed to withdraw their troops but on 4 November installed a Government led by Janos Kadar. By 11 November 1956 the revolutionary movement was put down and Nagy ed

6 This has demonstrated that it is very difficult now for an open reversion to colonialism. Even a strong power cannot do so at the expense of a weak country, because of world opinion, including of course Asian opinion, and the many other consequences that flow from this. Colonialism or foreign domination may well continue where it exists today for some time longer, but it is in retreat and has been dealt a hard blow. England and France, two great colonial powers, have not only suffered very greatly in prestige, but have also been shown up as really not strong enough to hold empires. In effect, this has changed the balance of power in the world.

7 The events in Hungary have demonstrated that militant communism, however powerful its backing, cannot be forcibly imposed for long over a country. Communism might possibly grow in a country if it is allied to nationalism and the country relies on its own strength. Hungary was for ten years under a Communist regime dominated over by the Soviet Union. During these ten years there was, no doubt, a great deal of propaganda and indoctrination. But, as events have proved, it could not stand up against the strong nationalist urge of the Hungarian people. Thus, Russia has not only suffered greatly in prestige by what it did in Hungary, but so-called international communism has also been shown to be much weaker than people imagined.

8 These two events are of world significance for the future and will, no doubt, gradually influence the policies of various countries.

9. Both in Egypt and Hungary the situation is still critical, though it would appear that the immediate danger of a major war has been avoided. At the same time, the cold war has come back and is likely to create a new crisis from time to time. It may be that we may get over this phase after some time and revert to the process of relaxation of tension, which was in evidence during the past year or more. I cannot say how long this may take.

10 During the past two weeks or so, I have spoken on several occasions in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on

international affairs<sup>3</sup> and, perhaps, you have read what I have said. It is important that we should have a clear idea of these happenings because the burden of shaping our own country's policy rests on us. We cannot adequately shoulder that burden by mere reactions to events, as most people do. The stakes are very heavy indeed and, by some fate or circumstance, India's responsibilities have grown. Reports come to us from many of the West Asian countries that wherever an Indian flag is seen on the car of one of our representatives, crowds gather round it to express their high appreciation of India and her policy, and expecting India to do something to help them. So also in Budapest. That is a terrible burden for us to carry. Our capacity to do anything is limited, and our good name has gone far beyond that capacity. This prospect rather frightens me.

11 It is easy enough to give expression to our views in brave language, condemning this country or that, but it is not easy to hold to the straight and narrow path which leads to peace. It is not easy to avoid extremes of expression when people are excited. The middle path is seldom approved of by those at either extreme.

12 What is the test we should apply? Certainly the test of principles, but the enunciation of principle is not enough and even a good principle shouted out at the wrong time may create dangers and lead to difficulties. If a great country, because of its own folly and mistakes, is driven into a

<sup>3</sup> Speaking in Lok Sabha on 16 and 19 November and in Rajya Sabha on 3, 4 and 7 December, Nehru described the Anglo-French attack on Egypt as "unabashed aggression dangerous to the freedom of Asian and African countries and peace itself," and demanded immediate withdrawal of Anglo-French and Israeli forces from Egypt. Speaking on Hungary, Nehru said that the people of Hungary should be allowed to determine their future according to their own wishes and Soviet troops should withdraw. But India was opposed to the U.N. resolution which demanded holding of elections in Hungary under U.N. auspices as that would mean armed intervention in Hungary and would entrench Soviet presence in the country. Nehru agreed with the that U N should be allowed to visit Hungary

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11 It is easy enough to give expression to our views in brave language, condemning this country or that, but it is not easy to hold to the straight and narrow path which leads to peace. It is not easy to avoid extremes of expression when people are excited. The middle path is seldom approved of by those at either extreme.

12 What is the test we should apply? Certainly the test of principles, but the enunciation of principle is not enough and even a good principle shouted out at the wrong time may create dangers and lead to difficulties. If a great country, because of its own folly and mistakes, is driven into a

<sup>3</sup> Speaking in Lok Sabha on 16 and 19 November and in Rajya Sabha on 3, 4 and 7 December, Nehru described the Anglo-French attack on Egypt as "unabashed aggression dangerous to the freedom of Asian and African countries and peace itself," and demanded immediate withdrawal of Anglo-French and Israeli forces from Egypt. Speaking on Hungary, Nehru said that the people of Hungary should be allowed to determine their future according to their own wishes and Soviet troops should withdraw. But India was opposed to the U.N. resolution which demanded holding of elections in Hungary under U.N. auspices as that would mean armed intervention in Hungary and would entrench Soviet presence in the country. Nehru agreed with the suggestion that U.N. should be allowed to visit Hungary.

position from which it cannot extricate itself without humiliation and abject surrender, then it is likely to prefer even war, whatever the consequences. We have seen England and France and Russia, no doubt because of their own mistakes, driven into a corner and trying desperately to find a way out without complete loss of dignity. If we prevent them from finding a way out, this might lead to desperation and even war. Therefore, it would seem that we should always try to have an honourable way of escape from a difficult position I remember that Gandhiji always left a door open in this way, without ever sacrificing his principles. Gandhiji's wisdom and practical good sense justify themselves again and again.

13 England and France, losing the active help of the United States and having to face an angered public opinion, became too weak to carry on their rash adventure in Egypt and are trying to end it with such grace as they can.<sup>4</sup> They are both in a very chastened mood, even though they may talk big to comfort themselves. The Soviet Union is not weak and relies on its own strength. Even so, it has bowed to world opinion to some extent. The danger is that it may be pushed too much in an attempt to humiliate it and then it may react wrongly. Both parties may dig their feet in, and when great powers do this, the consequences are likely to be very serious.

14 We have seen in Poland how far-reaching changes can be brought about if the situation is tackled wisely and peacefully.<sup>5</sup> The same background existed in Hungary but with two major differences. Hungary did not have wise or effective leadership and the Egyptian crisis intervened. The

4. On 3 December, Britain and France announced their plan to withdraw their forces from Egypt.

5. On 6 November, general amnesty was given to all prisoners imprisoned for alleged fascist activities, the Church allowed more freedom and changes made in trade union leadership. On 13 November, changes were effected in Polish Government and Army Command and all cases against Poznan rioters were dropped. On 18 November, the ruling United Workers Party of Poland and the Soviet Union agreed that the Soviet Army would not interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

Soviet Union was alarmed at what might well develop into a collapse of its authority in the East European countries and bring a hostile frontier right up to its own borders. There is nothing that Russia fears so much as a re-armed Germany. Twice in our lifetime German armies have invaded and brought havoc to Russia. Nobody in Eastern Europe ever forgets this fact. If the hostile frontier was brought to Russia's own border, and a re-armed Germany could go there with ease, then the fear of Russia would increase greatly and it may be thought that her own security was being endangered. It was probably for this reason that Russia acted in the way it did in Hungary and was faced by world disapproval.

15 How, then, are we to deal with this situation? I can offer no simple recipe. We may, however, lay down some broad considerations. The first one is that we should stand on our basic principles. That means that foreign forces should be withdrawn from Hungary, and Hungary should enjoy real independence with a political or economic structure of her people's choice. For this purpose, Soviet troops will have to withdraw. We should make it easy for the Soviet Union to do so. If we make it difficult, then the process of withdrawal will be delayed, the crisis will continue and war may well result and come in the way of what we want to do.

16. It becomes ever more clearly evident to me that the system of pacts and alliances, whether it is NATO or the Warsaw Treaty or SEATO or the Baghdad Pact, weakens peace and maintains a constant dread of each other. If we ask the Russians to withdraw from East European countries, as we should logically, foreign bases in other foreign countries should also be liquidated. I am quite sure that if all these pacts and alliances are put an end to, there would be a great relief all over the world, the cold war will end and the return to normality would be hastened. This would also result in what is called that democratization of the East European countries. That process which started last year cannot be reversed now though it may well be delayed.

17. As you perhaps know, I am going to the United States within a week<sup>6</sup> to meet President Eisenhower. This visit of mine has been made much of by the American Press, as if the future of the world depended on our talks. I am alarmed at this boosting, because it raises great expectations which are not likely to be fulfilled. This does not mean that I consider my visit to President Eisenhower of no value. Indeed, I think it is important and I hope it will yield good results. President Eisenhower has come back to his high office after a tremendous popular victory.<sup>7</sup> He represents a country which is the most powerful in the world. He is thus in a position to make a great difference to world events.

18. While we seek and work for peace, Pakistan is again resounding with warlike cries and threats against India.<sup>8</sup> I am distressed about this, as it comes in the way of our normal relations and embitters them. There are all kinds of rumours of Pakistan indulging in trouble on the ceasefire line in Kashmir or the Indian border.

19. Parliament is continuing and is likely to last another two weeks or a little less. Among other measures which it is

6 From 16 to 21 December 1956.

7 Eisenhower was reelected U.S. President for the second term on 6 November 1956.

8 For example, on 3 December, the Prime Minister of Pakistan said that his country would continue to seek military alliances as long as there was even a "remote danger from India", because "India as a whole has not accepted Pakistan's existence." On 7 December, Pakistan's Foreign Minister charged that Nehru was himself an invader "of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Pondicherry"; is "definitely out to destroy smaller nations and India was spending Rs 300 crores on her armed forces which I call a force of aggression".

considering is the one containing new taxation proposals.<sup>9</sup> Such proposals could only be put forward on the eve of general elections if we felt their absolute necessity from the point of view of our economy and the second Five Year Plan.

20. Meanwhile, we face increasing difficulties. Our foreign exchange resources have been reduced greatly during the past few months.<sup>10</sup> Prices have gone up<sup>11</sup> and certain inflationary trends are evident. We have to check these at all costs, and we have to increase our production as well as our exports. We have also to save wherever we can and avoid all unnecessary expenditure. You will be discussing these matters at the National Development Council<sup>12</sup> which is soon meeting and I shall therefore not say much about them except to put before you that the situation is a difficult one and requires all our efforts.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

9 On 30 November, a Supplementary Budget was introduced in Parliament by which excise duties were raised on dividends, and on items such as wines, scooters, and watches. Tax on capital gains was also raised. These demands were discussed in Lok Sabha on 10 and 12 December and in Rajya Sabha on 15 December 1956.

10. Foreign exchange reserves had gone down to Rs. 544 crores. After allowing for Rs. 400 crores as minimum currency reserves and Rs. 40 crores as minimum working balance, the Reserve Bank was left with Rs. 100 crores only. Of these, there was commitment to pay Rs. 91 crores on import of machinery for Rourkela. Therefore, only Rs. 10 crores were left.

11. Food prices had gone up by 6 4% between September and November 1956.

12. It met on 8 and 9 December 1956

New Delhi  
9 January, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I enclose for your information a copy of a note on the foreign exchange situation which I have written to all Cabinet Ministers of the Government of India. You will also receive from the Ministry of Finance a communication on the same subject.

The foreign exchange situation is difficult and the utmost effort has to be made to conserve our foreign resources. I would therefore request your co-operation in ensuring that your Government does not send up to the Ministry of Finance proposals for foreign exchange not covered by the criteria mentioned by them.

The virtual embargo that is being placed on fresh foreign exchange commitments may seriously affect some of your projects. I trust, however, that you will appreciate that in present circumstances such a temporary embargo is inevitable and such inconvenience as it may cause has necessarily to be borne.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly

*Enclosure\**

Your Ministry will be receiving from the Ministry of Finance a series of memoranda designed to limit the expenditure of foreign exchange on projects for which you are responsible. In essence, the scheme propounded in these memoranda is that each Ministry is given an allocation of foreign exchange for the next six months beyond which it may not enter into fresh commitments. The ceilings, you will have observed, are so low that their effect is really to place an embargo on practically all fresh commitments involving foreign exchange. This will undoubtedly have the effect of slowing down the tempo of your work but in the circumstances that have arisen, this has unfortunately become inevitable.

You will recall that in the second Five Year Plan it was estimated that over the next five years we would draw down our sterling balances to the extent of no more than Rs. 200 crores. In fact, during the last nine months the reduction in these balances has amounted to Rs. 218 crores giving an average of about Rs. 6 crores. The minimum legal reserve required for the backing of the currency is Rs. 400 crores. You will, therefore, observe that we have now only Rs. 130 crores left before the minimum figure is reached.

There are a number of reasons for this rapid decrease in our foreign exchange reserves, one of which is that a large number of projects have been started both in the public and the private sectors all at the same time. This has resulted in very large commitments having been made against which payments will fall due in the near future and our resources have to be conserved to meet these commitments. If we take on any additional commitments now, we shall not have the

\* The note written on 9 January 1957 to Cabinet Ministers was circulated to all Chief Ministers

funds to meet them. As it is essential that our past commitments should be honoured, the Ministry of Finance has, with my concurrence, felt it necessary to place a virtual embargo on the taking on the fresh commitments. The position will be reviewed in June and if it is improved, the drastic restrictions now imposed will be reduced.

The purpose of my writing this letter to you is to request your co-operation in making the ceiling allocated to your Ministry fully effective. It would be appropriate for your Ministry itself to review all the proposals that it might have for entering into foreign exchange commitments and to present to the Ministry of Finance only those which it finds to be of the highest priority within the ceiling allocated. Priority will, of course, have to be given to expenditure on maintenance or inescapable reliefs. Schemes on which a substantial foreign exchange, say 90% has already been incurred. Other schemes, I fear, will have to wait till the situation improves.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
23 January, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

After a long interval, I write to you again. During this period, since I wrote to you, I have been to the United States,<sup>1</sup> Canada<sup>2</sup> and England,<sup>3</sup> and met many leaders of these countries. On my way back, I also met Dr. Adenauer,<sup>4</sup> Federal Chancellor of West Germany. In India, we have had important visitors. Premier Chou En-lai came again,<sup>5</sup> and the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas have also visited us. Recently, the President of Syria also came here.<sup>6</sup> He is still touring various parts of India.

2 A great many events have happened during these past six weeks, and now we are on the eve of our second general elections.<sup>7</sup> Most of you will be busy with these elections during the next six weeks or so.

3 Even as I write this letter, the Security Council of the U.N. must be discussing the Kashmir issue.<sup>8</sup> The air has been thick with rumours of Pakistan creating some trouble on the borders. The next few days will indicate what turn

1 From 16 to 21 December 1956.

2 On 22 and 23 December 1956.

3 From 24 to 27 December 1956.

4 On 27 December 1956.

5 Visited India from 30 December 1956 to 1 January 1957

6 Shakuri al-Kuwatli visited India from 17 to 27 January 1957

7 General elections took place from 24 February to 14 March 1957.

8 From 16 January to 21 February 1957 the Security Council considered Pakistan's complaint of 16 November 1956 and 2 January 1957 of the effect that India had refused to honour resolutions of UNCIP (see Vol 1 pp 198-199) of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 and had instead sought to integrate Jammu and Kashmir with India.

events are likely to take. We have a difficult task in the Security Council, because most of the members of that Council, for a variety of reasons, incline towards Pakistan. Many of them are in some kind of a military alliance with Pakistan. It is difficult to explain to them in a brief debate the long agony of these past nine years of the Kashmir story. I have no doubt that Shri Krishna Menon will present our case<sup>9</sup> with force and ability. I have just heard that the U.S. and the U.K. Governments are putting forward some kind of a resolution.<sup>10</sup> I have not seen this resolution yet. But I fear it is likely to be unsatisfactory from our point of view.

4 I do not wish to make this letter merely a record of the many events that have taken place during the past six weeks. You read about these happenings in the newspapers, and it would serve little purpose my repeating them. But I should like to draw your attention again to certain basic features of the present international situation.

5 After many years of the cold war, there appeared to be a relaxation of it. Gradually, the high tension and excitement lessened and the world appeared to be moving into a calmer and less militant atmosphere. We began to hope that this process would continue and lead to the progressive solution of our problems.

6. This was the broad outlook in the middle of 1956. Suddenly, the Suez Canal issue disturbed this relatively

9. India argued that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was legally part of India, and Pakistan should first vacate aggression under UNCIP resolutions. Also she could not regard UNCIP resolutions as binding as conditions had completely changed.

10. The Anglo-American resolution adopted by the Security Council by 10 to nil with 1 abstention (by U.S.S.R.) declared that any action taken by the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly "to determine the future shape and affiliation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the principles enunciated in earlier resolutions." Another resolution passed on 20 February with 9 voting in favour and the Soviet Union against called for demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir with the help of a temporary U.N. force, preparatory to holding of a plebiscite. The Soviet veto nullified this resolution.

peaceful atmosphere, and then the Anglo-French invasion as well as the Israeli invasion of Egypt brought us near to war. In Central Europe, there was a national rising in Hungary. And now we are back to the old days of the cold war. The immediate crisis, that is the danger of war, has passed, but a deeper crisis continues and any kind of relief from tension is not in sight.

7. All these events have affected India in various ways and more particularly in regard to our second Five Year Plan. Our difficulties have increased and are likely to endure. We can look forward to no early release from them. We cannot give up any part of our Plan and so we have to work all the harder.

8 President Eisenhower's recent messages containing what is called the "Eisenhower doctrine,"<sup>11</sup> have not brought any feeling of healing. Instead, they have intensified the conflicts in Western Asia and have made people think again largely in military terms. In the Soviet Union, there appears to be a going back from the process of "de-Stalinization" and a reversion to some extent to the rougher language and methods of past days. Hungary continues to suffer.

9 In Europe, we might distinguish between three major forces. The Communist, that is essentially Soviet communism; the progressive Communist, represented by Poland and with a considerable appeal in some other countries, and the non-Communist or anti-Communist. A feature of the past few months has been the coming into prominence of the so-called progressive Communists who are largely influenced by the concept of national freedom as well as more individual freedom, within the socialist economy. This wave of change in the Communist world is visible

11. The Eisenhower Doctrine, placed before the U.S. Congress on 5 January 1957 and passed on 7 March 1957, authorized the President to extend economic and military aid to any West Asian country requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international

in the Soviet Union itself as well as, more especially, in Poland and the other East European countries. Someone has compared these movements to the Reformation in Europe, which resulted in the Protestant churches being formed. The comparison has some justification. Communism, as some kind of faith, has two aspects now: the orthodox one and the protestant one, but both are communism. Mostly, the Communist parties in non-Communist countries are very orthodox and, after some weeks of confusion, have lined up behind the Soviet variety of communism, which means they support the Soviet Government. It is in the Communist countries that we find this protestant variety of communism which threatens old-style orthodoxy. After trying to come to terms with the protestants and partly doing so in Poland, orthodoxy has apparently got rather frightened at these developments and decided to put up a strong front to them. The People's Government of China also, sensing danger through these disruptionist movements, has lined up with the Soviet Union. Marshal Tito, the arch protestant, has been isolated.

10. I have no doubt that these protestant forces of reformation will continue and grow in strength because they represent both nationalism and the adaptation of the socialist creed to the peculiar circumstances of each country. But orthodoxy does not easily give in to reformism and we are seeing this bitter conflict in the countries of Eastern Europe. For the moment, only Poland has succeeded to some extent; the other countries of Eastern Europe have been brought to heel by the might of the Soviet Union supported by China. While these progressive and liberalizing tendencies will continue and will produce their effect, this may well take some time now. The immediate future is one of conflict. I had hoped that these bitter conflicts might be avoided so as to allow these progressive forces to function in a somewhat normal atmosphere. That hope has not been realized.

11. And yet, the very compulsion of events is leading to a more realistic approach to the vital question of

disarmament. No one can really think in terms of a global war, and yet at the same time the big countries continue to prepare for it and to encourage military pacts and alliances which give no security and only add to the tension and sense of conflict.

12. We have to live through this dangerous period and protect our own freedom as well as to continue with our Five Year Plans. To relax is to invite trouble and possibly disaster. The immediate future is not hopeful and we are likely to have hard times both in the national and the international spheres.

13. In two or three days we celebrate Republic Day and then we plunge into the elections, probably forgetting this ferment and turmoil of the world and our own major difficulties. But we cannot escape them and we shall have to keep in mind always that these elections will mean little if we weaken.

14. There is probably no country in the world, except some of the Communist countries, which has not had repeated changes of governments during the past ten years. Only India is an exception to this and, because of this, we have been able to build up stability and put up a good record of progress. It seems to me important that during this critical period, our country should have this stability and sustained work. This is more important than any number of minor mistakes that might be made. Rival groups and parties criticize and run down each other, but the basic enemies to be fought against are not rival parties but rather the basic weaknesses and difficulties that confront us, including our tendency to faction and disruption. The emotional integration of India still remains the most important need of our country.

15. I trust that in these difficult times we shall rise to the occasion and not lose ourselves in petty wrangles.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

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Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
21 March, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I have not written to you for a very long time although events have followed one another thick and fast, both in India and in the outside world. I have not had much time for writing but, even more than that, I have not been in the mood to do so. I hope you will forgive me.

2. I hope to write to you a more comprehensive letter somewhat later. Today, I am writing to you about a particular matter connected with our community development schemes.

3 In the course of my election tour, and otherwise also, I have laid very great stress on the importance of our community blocks and national extension service scheme. I have called them revolutionary and perhaps the most significant thing that we were doing in India at present That is no small praise, for we are doing very many significant things in India. I did not bestow that praise on them lightly or without adequate reason. I do think that the waking up of the eighty per cent of our population living in the villages is a tremendous task. Also that, in the measure we have done this work thus far, it has been a great achievement. But the very success that we have met adds to our burdens and increases the complexities of the problem Nevertheless, this rapid progress is most exhilarating.

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

4 Figures may mean much or very little. And yet, statistical figures give some idea of what has been accomplished. These community schemes now have spread out to two hundred twenty thousand villages in India, covering a population of one hundred and twenty nine millions. It is our programme, as you know, that we should cover all the five hundred thousand villages of India by the end of the second Five Year Plan. This does not mean some kind of superficial coverage, but intensive and organized work in these areas. It means training up a vast number of persons, young men and young women, to undertake this work. Indeed, the question of providing trained personnel has become the most important of all, because everything depends on them and the quality of their work. Essentially, this is not mere superficial building of roads or school-houses or hospitals and dispensaries or better agriculture, most important as all these things are. We aim at something bigger and deeper, that is, the building up of the innumerable human beings in villages. From that, every thing else flows. Of course, all these things go together and cannot be separated.

5 We are laying stress in this programme on improved agriculture and more production and on the small scale and village industries programme. I hope we are also laying stress on cooperatives and close contact with panchayats. Thus, we give a wide and firm foundation to the State and to the intricate working of its creative and productive apparatus at the ground level.

6 Soon, new Ministries will be formed in the States, and I am writing to you specially to keep this community development programme in view at this juncture.

7 Some time ago, I requested all the Chief Ministers, as well as the Central Ministers dealing with the community development programme, to be good enough to send me quarterly reports. I am grateful to them that they have sent these more or less regularly. But, I have often found that these reports contain a mass of detail. In effect, these reports are copies of the detailed statistical reports sent to the

Ministry for Community Development. Such reports are very necessary for that Ministry, which goes into them carefully and analyses them, and then sends this analysis to the States as well as to the Members of the Central Committee.

8. To repeat this statistical material in the report sent to me personally, is hardly necessary and not of any particular help.

9. I would suggest to you not to trouble to send me this detailed report, which anyhow is sent to the Community Development Ministry. I would like you to send me a brief report of a page or two, just giving me your personal assessment of the progress in your State. This would be much more helpful to me and, perhaps, to you also. May I request you, therefore, to send this brief report containing your personal assessment of the progress made every quarter?

10. I have previously suggested that, owing to the importance of the community development programme, the Chief Minister himself should be the Chairman of the State Development Committee and in charge of the portfolio of community development.<sup>1</sup> I believe this is so in many of the States. I suggest that this practice should continue, so that the Chief Minister may remain in intimate touch with all these developments.

11. The State Development Committee should, I suggest, meet regularly and keep in close touch with developments. It should be a live body, making proposals and criticisms. It should make a proper assessment of what is being done every quarter. The Chief Minister, in his personal report to me, might mention what is being done by the State Development Committee.

1. See Vol. 3, p. 604.

12 There is another suggestion, which I should like to make to you. We have had, in Parliament, an informal Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament which keeps in touch with the Ministry of Community Development. I suggest that such a Committee might be formed in your State also. This would keep your State Legislature in touch with community development in the State.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# 60

New Delhi  
4 April, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I am sending you a copy of a paper on "Science as a factor in international relations" which was read by Dr. B.K. Blount<sup>1</sup> at a meeting of Chatham House in London.<sup>2</sup> This was published in *International Affairs* of January this year.

This paper<sup>3</sup> is interesting and brings out vividly the basic changes that are taking place in industry, administration, and international affairs because of the pace of scientific and technical advance. It seems to me very important that we realize the nature of these changes so that we might adapt ourselves to them. Above all, it means special attention being paid to the training of scientific and technical personnel.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1 (b 1907). Taught at Oxford University, 1931-38; Director, Science and Intelligence, Ministry of Defence, 1939-51; Deputy Secretary, Department of Science and Industrial Research, 1951-65.

2. On 23 October 1956.

3 Blount argued that the power of any country depends upon the technical advance in its administration, industry, and military affairs "Trade now follows the scientist and technologist, not the flag or the missionary." Those countries would advance rapidly which laid greatest stress on learning of the sciences and technology and their adoption in everyday life. Writing about China and India he said China would soon be a leading nation but the future of India was uncertain.

# 61

New Delhi  
5 May, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I feel some embarrassment in writing to you after a long interval. I have been in the habit of writing to the Chief Ministers every fortnight, but during the last few months, I have not been able to adhere to this practice. My last letter was, I think, dated January 23, that is, two and a half months ago. I have no particular excuse to offer for this delay except of course that we have all been very busy with elections and after. But that is not an adequate excuse, for we are normally always rather heavily occupied and yet important work has to be done. I suppose that the real reason for my not writing for all this time was disinclination to do so or rather because I could not develop the mood to do so. Also, when once there is a gap period, it becomes progressively more difficult to bridge that gap.

2. Even now I feel no particular enthusiasm in writing. That of course is my fault and perhaps it reflects a certain tiredness of mind. But I must pick up old threads again and continue this practice, even though my performance might not be very satisfactory. I feel it is essential for us to keep in some personal touch with each other, not only by letter but by occasional meeting. Official correspondence takes place in its normal course. But that is not enough when we have to deal not only with particular problems but also with the unsubstantial but very important stuff that brings minds together, enlivens them and leads to cooperative effort. Nothing appears to me to be more necessary in this troubled world of ours and in this changing and developing India than to have such a union of minds even though there

might be differences, and an attempt to give such service as we can to the building up of this country of ours. The very fact that an ever-increasing number of problems confront us is witness to our growth and development. A country that is static and stagnant has few problems because in that case one overwhelming problem of stagnation and poverty covers everything. As our responsibilities grow, our burdens are heavier, and the only real satisfaction that we can have is that we are putting our utmost endeavour to meet those responsibilities and carry those burdens.

3. What am I to write to you after these many weeks which have seen so much in India and the world? The elections took place<sup>1</sup> and we all talked about this great democratic experiment and our vast and unprecedented electorate. I suppose that there was much to give us satisfaction about the magnitude of this undertaking. And yet, there were so many aspects of these elections which were displeasing that on the whole I felt depressed. This has nothing to do with winning or losing an election but rather the emergence of certain trends which seemed to me to disclose some essential weaknesses in our body politic. Democratic elections seldom bring out the best in people taking part in them. The desire to win an election overcomes many a scruple and standards fall. The larger vision gives place to narrow and parochial outlooks, and ideals are sometimes sacrificed for the expediency of the moment. We have seen in these elections casteism often triumphant, communalism throwing its weight about, and in some places violence. We have seen in fact a certain immaturity in our public life as well as a certain lack of integrity. These are bad signs for the future, however we win or lose an election. I have always said that the primary and basic need for us in India is that of an emotional integration of the country. Our old and historic failing has been disunity and the tendency to think along

1. The Congress Party secured a large majority in the Union Parliament and a comfortable majority in all States except Orissa and Kerala. Nehru was reelected for the second time as leader of the Congress Party in Parliament and his Cabinet was sworn in on 11 April 1957.

smaller group lines, forgetting the larger good of the country and the people. There have always been two tendencies at work in this country, one towards unity and the other towards disruption. A certain basic unity there has been and this has saved us in the past, even when we were politically divided. But together with this there has been this lack of consciousness of political and social cohesion. It may be that the caste system was responsible for this lack of cohesion. These elections, and what has gone before and after, have shown that we are still far from achieving that national cohesion. What is particularly distressing to me is a certain tendency to violence and intolerance.

4 I am not thinking in terms of parties, but rather of the picture of the country as a whole, as it emerged during these general elections. That picture is not a pleasing one, and it has brought out, as democracy often does, both strength and the failings of our people, and indeed of ourselves. I am not distinguishing between some of us and some others. Looking at the world as it is today, there was probably no period when it was more essential for a country to have this sense of national cohesion and integrity of purpose. We live in a disintegrating world, at the edge of a possible catastrophe of vast dimensions. It is in this perspective that we have to look at things and judge our own problems. Fate and circumstance have brought additional responsibilities to India and, whether we like it or not, we play a fairly important role in world affairs. How can we do that adequately without that cohesion and strength of purpose which is so essential both for our internal development and our external policies?

5 And yet, if we look round to various countries which have recently attained freedom or, indeed, others also, India compares very favourably with them, both in regard to our stability and the progress we have made in these last ten years. The record is a creditable one, and this is increasingly recognized by other countries of the world. To some extent, the very success that we have achieved has led to some jealousy and apprehension in the minds of other countries

We have made it clear repeatedly that we claim no leadership in Asia or elsewhere, and that we would rather not get entangled in world affairs. We want quietly to work out our own destiny, with no other ambitions. But, circumstance or some unseen fate inevitably draw us into these world affairs, and we cannot resist that pull. The very objectives that we have set before us impel us in that direction. Indeed, it is not for any country to lead an isolated life.

6. In the world situation today, the countries of Western Asia continue to produce crisis after crisis. These relatively small countries are not left at peace to work out their own destiny and, because of the misfortune of oil and other reasons, Great Powers make them their playthings. In Jordan, extraordinary developments have been taking place recently.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, all is quiet there now. But, it is obvious that this peace is not the peace of a living democratic community, but rather of a people suppressed from above. It seems clear to me that the problems of the Middle Eastern countries will not be solved so long as these countries are pushed about by the Great Powers in furtherance of world policies.

7. An issue that has now become of vital importance and is attracting world attention is that of nuclear tests. It is extraordinary that while everyone agrees that a war in which thermo-nuclear weapons are used will be almost fatal for mankind, yet the Great Powers continue these tests and stock-piling their atomic and hydrogen bombs. The Soviet Union has proclaimed that these tests must stop and, indeed, that nuclear war should be banned,<sup>3</sup> and yet, within a few

2. The conflict between the left-wing Arab Front and the royalist elements, following the dismissal of Suleiman el-Nabulsi's Government by King Hussein on 10 April 1957 was resolved by the installation of a right-wing Government on 25 April which proclaimed martial law, dissolved all political parties, and removed from the civil services supporters of opposition groups.

3. This was suggested by the Soviet representative on 30 April 1957 at the London Disarmament Conference as a basic requirement for concluding a partial agreement on disarmament.

days recently, there were many such tests in the Soviet Union itself.<sup>4</sup> The United States have announced a series of tests,<sup>5</sup> and the United Kingdom intends to carry out a major hydrogen bomb<sup>6</sup> test near the Marshall Islands, in spite of widespread protest. There appears to be no logic or reason about all this, only fear and suspicion and hatred. The world will not solve its problems if these are the governing motives of peoples' developments. Einstein,<sup>7</sup> who started these tremendous developments in science leading to the hydrogen bomb, said once that the only way to control nuclear force was to control the mind and heart of man.

8 The Kashmir question continues to be with us. A few days ago, Dr. Jarring,<sup>8</sup> representative of the Security Council, gave his report<sup>9</sup> which you must have read. This report is not entirely satisfactory from our point of view, and there are some statements in it which have rather surprised

4. The Soviet Union conducted five tests between 3 and 16 April 1957. Tests were continued in subsequent months also.

5. These were carried out from 28 May to 7 October 1957.

6. It took place on 16 May 1957.

7. Albert Einstein (1879-1955) German-born mathematician and physicist; later self-exiled in U.S.A.; author of the theory of relativity, won Nobel Prize in 1921.

8. Gunnar Jarring (b. 1907) Swedish diplomatist; Professor of Turkish languages, 1933-40; Minister to India, 1948-51, to Sri Lanka, 1950-51, to Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, 1951-52; Permanent Representative to U.N., 1956-58, Ambassador to U.S.A., 1958-64, to U.S.S.R., 1964-73, Mongolia, 1965-73.

9. In pursuance of the U.N. Security Council's resolution of 21 February, Jarring had visited India and Pakistan from 14 March to 29 April 1957 and although he made no concrete proposals for the settlement of the Kashmir question, his report reaffirmed that "the parties were still desirous of finding a solution." He recognized that holding of the plebiscite "could lead to grave problems" and India would not agree to it till Pakistan vacated aggression. He stated that UNCIP resolutions could no longer be implemented because of the "changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia," and concluded that implementation of international agreements of *ad hoc* character if not speedily achieved could become progressively more difficult as the "situation they were to cope with tended to change."

us. But, the report does bring out certain aspects of this question, which had been deliberately slurred over in the past in the Security Council and elsewhere. It might, therefore, be considered an advance on the previous position, in so far as we are concerned.

9. Meanwhile, Pakistan presents a picture of ever-increasing armed forces, supplied chiefly by the United States of America and, at the same time, ever more deterioration in its political and economic set up. We have wished well to Pakistan, because it is to our advantage that it should be a prosperous and independent country. But, its independence appears to grow less and its prosperity as far off as ever. The country does not appear to take root in some kind of healthy nationalism. It is still a prey to clan rivalries, and the people seem to have little say in the matter. They are roused from time to time by some religious cry or on the Kashmir issue. The two-nation theory, which gave rise to Pakistan has, I believe, prevented it from developing these healthy roots. Religion is to some extent a binding factor. But religion cannot take the place of a nationalist sentiment. By adhering to the two-nation theory, Pakistan deliberately tried to make religion as its basis and thus reverted to a medieval conception, which is difficult to understand today. Other Islamic countries in Western and Eastern Asia or Africa have their strong nationalisms. They may sympathize with Islam elsewhere, but their politics are governed by nationalist and economic motives. The old cry of Pan-Islam was always rather artificial, and it never took root. It is still less likely to take root in the world of today where nationalism has shown how strong it is.

10. Because of this two-nation theory and other reasons, the disruptive forces in Pakistan continue to grow. They led to the vast migrations from East Pakistan and to the lack of cohesion between East and West Pakistan. Perhaps, it is to remedy this basic defect that the Pakistan Assembly recently decided to have joint electorates all over the country. But the old spectre of the two-nation theory is not so easily exorcized, and there is trouble ahead in Pakistan on this issue.

11. It is in the combination of political and economic backwardness and instability and an imposed military power, which does not grow out of the strength of the country, that danger lies. We can only hope that the danger will pass and that Pakistan will develop along normal lines and realize that the kind of policy of hatred and violence that they have followed can bring no good. But all this involves basic changes in the feudal and clan politics of Pakistan.

12. Our chief problem now as ever is the problem of our development, the second Five Year Plan and all that goes with it. We are up against many difficulties. We shall have to face them and overcome them. It is interesting to compare our problems with those of China. Even though our political and economic structures are different, the problems are much the same. Oddly enough, we find China facing almost the same kind of difficulty as we have in India, sometimes to an even greater degree. In China there has been a shortfall in agricultural production, a shortage of raw materials and a financial unbalance. In their attempt to build up a strong industrial base, in which they are succeeding to some extent, they have ignored transport and communications as well as agriculture. Their Five Year Plan, which started off well, ran into many difficulties, chiefly because of the failure on the agricultural front. Industrialization in China, as in India, depends considerably on the expansion of agricultural production. China has had thus to face the problems of slowing down capital construction and industrialization if it could not increase its production. In its attempt at rapid advance, quality had suffered, light industry had also suffered, as raw materials had been diverted to construction in heavy industry. Their planning had proved to be defective and unbalanced.

13. In spite of their rigidity of doctrine, the Chinese are trying to meet these difficulties by a more flexible approach and by giving incentives to agriculture. After extending agrarian cooperatives all over China with extreme rapidity they have tried to convert them into collectives. Now they have relaxed and allowed the peasants a free market in

non-staple foods and the product of subsidiary occupation, apart from helping them in other ways also. Even in regard to intellectuals, there has been a measure of relaxation and freedom. Chairman Mao described this new policy as one of "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."<sup>10</sup> The intellectuals were given higher salaries and were encouraged to think and write more freely. But there were strict limitations to this freedom which might be called a controlled freedom.

14. One very interesting development is the drive for birth control and family planning. When I was in China two or three years ago, I enquired about this subject. I was told that they attached no importance to family planning and they had plenty of work for every person. Evidently they have changed their minds completely now and there is a wide-spread campaign for birth control all over China.

15. I had the good fortune to attend the recent meeting of the Development Commissioners Conference at Mussoorie.<sup>11</sup> As I have often said, I regard the community development programme as not only of high importance but of revolutionary significance in India. It is gradually changing the face of rural India and I have no doubt that it will lay the foundations of a new structure. A recent Evaluation Committee's report has pointed out many defects and failings. That is only natural and we should always keep our eyes open and learn from our own mistakes. But we have laid solid foundations for progress in these rural areas and we have to build on them.

16. The new Parliament will meet soon in Delhi for a brief session, in the course of which the Budget will be introduced.<sup>12</sup>

10. Mao Zedong had made these remarks while addressing the Supreme State Conference on 27 February 1957.

11. On 29 and 30 April 1957.

12. The Railway Budget was introduced on 14 May, and the General Budget on 15 May 1957.

17 I am going to Ceylon for three days on the 17th of this month. Next month I expect to go to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. On my way there, I intend visiting the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
5 June, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

During the last ten days there have been continuous discussions chiefly revolving round the economic situation and the food situation in the country. These were discussed in the Lok Sabha,<sup>1</sup> then in the All India Congress Committee<sup>2</sup> and then in the National Development Council meeting.<sup>3</sup> Many of you were present at the A.I.C.C. meeting and nearly all of you attended the National Development Council. I need not report, therefore, what was said there.

2. Two points emerged. One was the gravity of the situation,<sup>4</sup> the other our determination to face it with courage and to overcome the difficulties that threaten to overwhelm us.

3. The food situation is undoubtedly serious, in so far as rice is concerned, and yet I believe it is fairly well in hand, and it will remain in hand. What troubles me is the future and the steps to be taken to prevent our growing population and higher consumption going ahead of our production. There can be little doubt that our production of foodgrains can go up very considerably. But this will require hard and concentrated work and no relaxation. For the present we

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. The Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha met from 10 May to 1 June 1957

2. The session was held in New Delhi from 1 to 3 June 1957

3. It met on 3 and 4 June 1957.

4. The A.I.C.C. noted that the heavy imports of capital goods and increased consumption combined with natural calamities and other factors had produced certain shortages which had accentuated the difficulties of a developing ----- y

appear to have enough supplies to go round, provided there is proper distribution. As you will have noticed, Parliament has passed a law<sup>5</sup> to enable Government to requisition foodgrains at a reasonable price. It is intended to use this law only in case of the bigger hoarders.

4 An even greater difficulty than that of the food situation is that of foreign exchange. In our enthusiasm for developing rapidly we have rather outpaced our present resources. Both the public and the private sectors have gone ahead ordering machinery in a big way during the past year or more and now we have to pay for this as it comes in. This has produced a situation which may lead us to a grave crisis if we cannot succeed in making adequate arrangements to meet the demands upon us from time to time.

5 So far as the production of food is concerned, the A.I.C.C. meeting has made many suggestions<sup>6</sup> which, I think, are very important and I invite your attention to them. We have to concentrate on this production of food by intensive methods. These methods are well-known. Wherever they have been followed, the results have been satisfactory.

6 It is hardly necessary for me to draw your attention to the urgent necessity of the fullest economy and avoidance of waste both in our government and our private expenditure. It is clear that everything that involves any further foreign exchange must be stopped unless it is of vital significance.

5 Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill passed on 1 June 1957 enabled the Government to requisition foodstocks on payment of the prevailing average market price in a notified area over a period of three months. Under the existing law the Government could requisition stocks but only on payment of the ruling market price.

6 18-point resolution on food production passed by the A.I.C.C envisaged fixation of a minimum price of foodgrains, introduction of co-operative methods in the rural economy to the maximum possible extent, speedy implementation of land reforms tapping of existing irrigation facilities bringing cultivable waste land under cultivation, etc., in many ways which were then not of ma-

We have to stop such imports and all other activities which might involve foreign exchange. Thus delegations and deputations abroad will have to be very severely restricted. Even new students going abroad will have to be restricted.

7 I should like your Government as well as every Ministry at the Centre to examine this question of economy very fully and to take effective measures to enforce it. There are many items of petty expenditure which may not amount to much but, taken as a whole, they do make a difference. Telegrams abroad will have to be restricted. There is far too much of a tendency to send long telegrams without adequate reason. In these days of airmail, a message reaches almost as quickly as a telegram. People sending telegrams forget that the coding and decoding take time. I hope, therefore, that the strictest watch will be kept on telegrams being sent abroad. This applies chiefly to the Central Ministries. Even in the use of paper we should be economical.

8 I find that there is considerable waste of electric power in many of our offices as well as homes. This deserves attention.

9. We should avoid buying any motor cars and carry on with such as we have. Personally I think that there are far too many cars being used and we could, without any particular harm, reduce this number.

10 I am merely mentioning some rather minor items that might be considered, because I am convinced that it is in dealing with these minor items that we bring about an atmosphere conducive to economy. Ministers and senior officials often live in big houses which make it necessary to keep a large establishment. So far as I am concerned, I live in a huge mansion. I do not quite know what we can do about this, as any moving about will probably add to expenses and not in economy, though it might strike the public as such. It is desirable, however, in future not to build any such big houses for Ministers or officials or indeed for anyone else. The status of a person does not depend on the size of the house he lives in.

11. I have previously addressed you on the subject of avoidance of pomp and show, whether in residence or in travelling. This applies to all of us, including Governors. It is a matter to be considered how far some of the old customs and conventions appertaining to Raj Bhavans need to be changed, though it is always necessary to maintain a certain dignity there.

12. All this has a public aspect, but there is also the private aspect of this question. This relates to our salaries and allowances. I do not think that the salaries of Ministers are by any means excessive and indeed many Ministers are hard put to it to meet all their obligations from their present salaries. And yet, as a resolution<sup>7</sup> moved in the A.I.C.C. shows, the public are not of this opinion. Perhaps even more than the salaries, it is the various allowances that are objected to. I can make no suggestions about these matters except to draw your attention to them and invite your earnest consideration. If we put heavy taxes, as we must, we naturally inconvenience and to some extent hurt many persons. That is inevitable. But it follows also that we must share in that inconvenience and hurt. It is not quite enough for any of us to feel that a course of action will be rather upsetting to your domestic economy. That will apply to many taxpayers. From the psychological point of view, there can be little doubt that an effective move on our part will be greatly appreciated by the public and will help in creating an atmosphere of austerity which we demand from others.

13. I hope you will forgive me for addressing you in this personal way. I have to do so, because we have to meet that challenge that circumstances have thrown out at us. There is

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no evasion of it or running away from it. The only course left for us as a nation or as an individual is to face these hard facts with courage and fortitude and thus find solutions to our problems

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 63

New Delhi  
8 June, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I have been examining a statement<sup>1</sup> showing annual expenditure as security arrangements in respect of the President, Heads of States (that is Governors), and Union and State Government Ministers. The total amount spent as these security arrangements appears to me formidable.<sup>2</sup> I know that I am one of the principal guilty parties and I propose to have this matter examined and the expenditure reduced not only for myself but for Central Ministers. I am writing to you about the amount spent for the security arrangements for the Governors and Ministers of State Governments. These amounts vary very greatly in both cases. It is not clear to me why there should be such tremendous variation and why in some cases the amount is unconscionably high. I do not understand why we should require so much protection, though I realize the necessity for security.

I shall be grateful to you if you will be good enough to look into this matter and reduce this expenditure very considerably.

Apart from the expenditure aspect, there is also the public aspect. A Governor certainly requires to move about with dignity, though this can be overemphasized. The Ministers

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

1. This statement was submitted by Auditor-General of India.

2. The total expenditure in 1956-57 on Heads of the States and on Ministers, which included the amount spent on their residences and tours, came to Rs. 45,70,304 i.e. on Heads of States Rs 16,54,275 and on Ministers Rs. 29 16 029

are public men who should mix with the people and who should have no pomp and ceremony attached to them. Where necessary, of course, some security protection should be taken. But this should be unostentatious and inexpensive.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 64

New Delhi  
12 June, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

In another two days' time, I shall be speeding away westward.<sup>1</sup> My first halt will be in the heart of the Middle Eastern region, which has become such a seat of trouble during the past year or so. I shall spend part of a day and a night at Damascus and proceed the next day to Copenhagen.

2. The events in, what we call rather erroneously the Middle East, have been strange, and there is almost an element of the stories of the Arabian Nights in them. Intrigue and counter-intrigue, the transfer of allegiance, kings functioning as of old regardless of what their people think, martial law and, over and above all this, pressures and threats, from outside I shall not endeavour to describe or analyse this drama that is taking place there with its plots and counter-plots. I cannot give you any special information which you may not have already obtained. None of these countries of Western Asia has any great stability. Politically and economically, they are backward. Lebanon is probably the most advanced in regard to standards of life and education. Iraq may put up a brave show, but no one doubts that the Government is an imposed one<sup>2</sup> and has little of popular backing. In spite of all her difficulties, Egypt is still the strongest of these Arab

1 Nehru visited Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Netherlands and Britain between 15 June and 14 July 1957

2 The nationalist pro-Arab groups were opposing the pro-West policies of the Government which included grant of oil concessions and signing of the Baghdad Pact. In 1954, the Iraqi Government dissolved political and 1 law in May 1956.

countries and has made some progress in land reforms and other matters. There is something of the revolution still about her. She has survived grave perils, and this is evidence of some basic strength. There will be elections in Egypt soon.<sup>3</sup> But, according to our standards, the elections will be rather peculiar as only one party can stand.

3 Recently, there have been some signs of Egypt and the United Kingdom coming a little closer to each other.<sup>4</sup> Both countries had begun to realize that their estrangement was not profitable to either. I do not suggest that they are going to become friends. But there is likely to be a toning down of their conflict. Behind this Middle Eastern scene, there has been some rivalry between two friends—the United Kingdom and the United States. I rather doubt if the United Kingdom views the Eisenhower doctrine<sup>5</sup> as applied to the Middle Eastern countries with enthusiasm.

4 In spite of the ever-growing feeling and agitation against nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, there have been further such explosions both by the U.K., U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. For England this was the first hydrogen bomb explosion<sup>6</sup> and this has produced a sense of elation among many people in the United Kingdom who feel that now they are in the front rank of the Great Powers. In spite of all this, the volume of world opinion against these explosions has grown greatly<sup>7</sup> and I feel that it must produce results before very long. If these results are delayed, we might well have a

3 The first general elections on a non-party basis were held in Egypt on 3 July with 2,528 candidates contesting 350 seats in the National Assembly.

4 On 13 May Macmillan announced in the House of Commons that the British Government would no longer advise British ship-owners to refrain from using the Suez Canal.

5. See *ante*, p. 475.

6 The test was conducted on 15 May 1957.

7. For instance, appeals for suspension of nuclear tests were made by Japanese political parties and intellectuals, Pope Pius XII, and Albert Schweitzer who described these tests as "a folly for which mankind will have to pay a terrible price." Nehru had called for an end to "this mad contest."

fourth exalted member of possessors of the hydrogen bomb. This is likely to be France. The more this spreads, the more difficult it will become to control it.

5 It is a happy sign that scientists in all countries are protesting against these test explosions and, speaking with authority, are telling us of the disastrous consequences not only on the living but those yet to be born. It is terrible to think that with all this tremendous weight of scientific opinion and the certainty now that each explosion leads ultimately to the death or worse of large numbers of persons, yet these explosions continue and each country puts the blame on the other.

6 In a sense this has become connected with the proposals for disarmament. The latest proposals made by the Soviet Union<sup>8</sup> have been a near approach to what the Western Powers have themselves put forward. For the first time there appears to have been a hopeful response to them from the United States though we cannot be very optimistic about the future. Oddly enough, it appears now that the United States is somewhat inclined to an agreement, however limited it might be, on disarmament. It is England and France that are more reluctant. Everyone recognizes, I think, that the Soviet Union is earnest about disarmament, whatever its motives might be. One of the conditions put forward by the Western Powers for disarmament is the unification of Germany, although it has been made quite clear that there is no chance at all of this happening so long as adequate progress is not made in regard to disarmament.

7 As I write, news comes of the defeat of the Liberal Party in the general elections in Canada.<sup>9</sup> This means the

8 On 30 April, the Soviet Union proposed at the Disarmament Conference at London that reciprocal aerial inspection, reduction in armed forces and armaments, and ban on nuclear tests should form the basis for signing the partial agreement on disarmament.

9 In the Canadian general elections held on 11 June 1957 the Liberals were defeated by the Conservative Party.

retirement from office of Prime Minister St Laurent,<sup>10</sup> who has played a wise and soothing part not only in the Commonwealth but also in world affairs. During the past few years Canada has emerged as a great Power because of her great industrial growth and also her military capacity, especially in regard to the latest developments in atomic energy and aircraft. The new Government in Canada is likely to be a conservative one and possibly the role of Canada in future may be less liberal than it has been. I am sorry, for personal reasons apart from public, for the defeat of Mr. St Laurent, who is a fine, upright and conscientious man, who took to politics late in life and is therefore rather unlike the average politician.

8 We have our own troubles in India and we have been discussing them fully during the past few weeks. It is interesting to see that in China, which has a different form of government and economy, some of the troubles are remarkably like ours, both in the economic and administrative spheres. The Chinese Communist Party has started a drive against itself in a sense and has invited all sections of the people to help it in carrying out this drive. This is called the "rectification" drive.<sup>11</sup> Bureaucracy, which has grown tremendously there, is criticized for its isolation from the people and its armchair leadership. Some Ministers there have complained that the party cell interferes with their work and authority. Party workers who become administrators, develop a subjective or doctrinaire approach and often do not possess the specialized knowledge necessary for

10. Louis Stephen St Laurent For b fn. see Vol. 3, p. 499.

11. The campaign was launched on 30 April 1957 by the Communist Party Central Committee to rectify by methods of "discussion and persuasion" the bureaucratic methods of certain Communist officials who tended to show callousness in their dealings with the people.

their work. The Secretary-General<sup>12</sup> of the Communist Party of China complained in a speech of how conceit, self-complacency, commandism, routine-mindedness, loss of contact with the subordinates and the masses, and many other difficulties have arisen among the higher ranks of officials and cadres.

9 There is a tendency also in China towards less rigidity of thought and a remark by Chairman Mao has become famous. This was "letting all flowers blossom and all schools of thought contend." This has resulted in some relaxation of the old cultural controls.

10 The student problem is presenting difficulties and thousands of students from peasant families who have graduated from the middle schools are demanding admission to the higher schools. They are reluctant to go back to the villages and, as in India, their aim is to improve their status by becoming white-collar workers. Students of higher institutions have also been affected by the new trend and there have been many cases of indiscipline and refusal to attend political classes. This tendency has been noticed among industrial workers and others who demand improvement in living standards and greater freedom. There is little doubt that the events in Poland and Hungary last year influenced many people in China. There were even some demonstrations staged by the Chinese students in support of the Hungarian students.

11 It is stated that the economic difficulties last year in China were due to defective planning and lack of coordination between the various units of administration. Officials and cadres were all intent and bent on over-fulfilment of the plan without paying much attention to the actual conditions. There was over-emphasis on capital expenditure with the result that the whole plan and the

12. Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsio-Ping) (b 1904). Political Commissar, People's Liberation Army, 1948-54; Vice-Premier, 1952-69 and 1973-80; General of Chinese Communist Party 1953-69 its Vice Chairman 1977-82 and its Chair then

economy were upset. Instructions have now been issued to officials and cadres that these methods of what is called "commandism" must stop and peasants and others must be consulted in all matters so as to develop a greater sense of unity and increase production.

12 The principal stress in China today is on unity and peaceful methods, as opposed to the class struggle. Even the rectification drive, it is said, should be carried out "gently as a breeze or mildly as a rain." A little incident, which is rather amusing, may interest you. *Shakuntala*<sup>13</sup> was recently staged in Peking. The Counsellor of the Indian Embassy fell into the unused orchestra pit which had been covered only with a cloth. No one was hurt. But later, Premier Chou En-lai, in the course of his speech, said that this was a case of bureaucracy or defective leadership, on the part of the Director of the theatre, which must be rectified.

13 There has recently been a meeting<sup>14</sup> of the Baghdad Pact in Karachi. Fairly lengthy reports have come out in the newspapers, which have the impress of truth on them, even though they have been denied. At this meeting, Pakistan and Iraq wanted to bring in Kashmir and other issues like Israel and Cyprus. The United Kingdom and the U.S. opposed this move and insisted on confining the Baghdad Pact to their drive against communism. It is said that there were even hot words exchanged. Pakistan also talked a great deal about subversive attempts by India in East Pakistan. In the final communique, there is some reference to subversive movements, though no country is named. At this Baghdad Pact meeting, the U.K. and the U.S.A. generally stood together, but there was an undercurrent of rivalry between them also.

14. I have written to you recently<sup>15</sup> about the food situation

13. A famous play in Sanskrit by Kalidasa.

14. The Ministerial Council of the Baghdad Pact countries meeting from 3 to 6 June 1957 spoke of the serious threat of communist subversion in the r msp red from outside

15. See ante item 62

and the general drive towards economy and avoidance of all waste. In the final analysis, our Five Year Plan depends upon our agricultural production and principally on food and food prices. Food prices affect other prices, and these can well upset all our planning if we cannot keep them down. At the meeting of the National Development Council, there was a proposal, which was generally accepted, about giving some kind of price support to foodgrains and announcement of a floor price for them.

15 We have given a great deal of thought to this question and found that it was not quite so simple as it appeared. At a time when prices are fairly high and no one is particularly afraid of prices coming down too much in the near future, there is not much point in giving an assurance of a fixed price. If that price is fixed too low, then it has no meaning and provides no incentive. If it is fixed rather high, then it may be dangerous for our economy in future. At the same time, we have felt that some kind of an assurance should be given to the grower that Government would step in effectively to prevent prices from falling below reasonable levels.

16 As for incentives to the farmer, it is felt that the best form of incentives should not be subsidies on the price of foodgrains but rather in the form of making fertilizers, seeds, manure, etc. available at reasonable prices. We can also consider reducing irrigation rates. These are really subsidies for production. Merely maintaining high prices need not necessarily result in greater production. Indeed, there is some possibility of high prices even leading to lower production, because many farmers may not exert themselves as much as they might otherwise do. Our object should be to encourage people to produce more intensively and to relate our help to yield per acre. We might give bonuses for extra production. Unfortunately, many of our policies have really been drags on production such as sales tax on fertilizers, or even in these days of rather high prices on the foodgrains sold in our fair price shops.

17 Fertilizers are good and no doubt we should use them

and they produce results. But it is not very safe to pay too much attention to chemical fertilizers and forget local manures, compost, etc. The best results are obtained by a mixture of the two, or even by good local manures. If we do not take care of this now, we may have to pay the penalty later when perhaps the soil may produce less.

18 We have in fact to start and carry through a vigorous Grow-More-Food Campaign and this must be directed specially to more intensive cultivation. Such a campaign must not remain at the top, but should reach the village and the individual farmer. With the help of the community blocks and the national extension service, each farmer should be tackled and each family should have its quota fixed. Whether it is a farmer or an industrial worker, I am quite sure that they respond to the right approach. They are eager to understand and learn and once they know that something is for their good, they try to follow that path. To some extent, this may be done by the normal means of propaganda, lectures, leaflets, etc., but the real approach is to the individual. The district is much too big as a unit. The block to some extent is a unit, but the real unit should be the village with an approach to each farmer.

19 It has always surprised me how much intelligence a farmer or an industrial worker shows when his own subjects are tackled. Indeed, he is interested in other things too. He asks questions and follows the answers closely. I wish that our Five Year Plan propaganda and more especially our Grow-More-Food Campaign could be carried out in a way to rouse the active interest of the farmer.

20 In the course of our discussions at the National Development Council, much was said about the non-use of existing irrigation facilities, like tubewells or even a canal system. This is bad at any time, but peculiarly so when we are hungering for more production and food. Wherever this has occurred, there should be an immediate and full enquiry as to what comes in the way. If the rates are high, then these should be reduced, because otherwise we suffer double loss

There is no point in having irrigation works if we do not profit by them fully.

21 I would again presume to remind you of the extreme need for economy not only in our governmental apparatus, but also in our personal expenditure because we set an example to others. There are so many minor items of expenditure, like telephones and telegrams and travelling about, which can easily be reduced without harm to anyone. Some travelling bills have struck me as extraordinarily high.

In our work, probably one of the best ways to ensure economy as well as efficiency is avoidance of delays and quick disposal of business. Another matter to be borne in mind is the stoppage of all harassment of the people by the official machinery.

22 I shall be away from India for one full month, busy with various kinds of activities, but my mind will be here, and I shall hope that when I come back, I shall be able to throw myself in the great task in which all of us are engaged with greater vigour and perhaps a little fresher mind.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
15 July, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I have just today returned to Delhi after a full month abroad. It is difficult to keep in intimate touch with developments in India while touring in foreign countries, more especially when such touring involves continuous and heavy engagements. Some information naturally reaches me from India and I try to keep in touch with major developments. But I hesitate to form any definite opinions about such developments, not having the full background before me and I refrain from sending any directions. I say so because I have read in the Indian press that I have sent some directions about current matters. This is not true. I did not do so, even though I was much interested in them.

2. I was naturally full of the impressions I was gathering from day to day. I wish I could have taken down some notes about these impressions and about the various activities and policies of the countries I visited. But this was not possible because of my heavy programmes which took up almost every minute of the day till I returned drowsy and sleepy for a brief night's rest. I have, therefore, to rely on a multitude of mixed and overlapping impressions and it is a little difficult to disentangle them. I feel, however, that it might interest you to hear from me about these various impressions, some important and others rather trivial, even though what I write is apt to be disjointed. I hasten, therefore, to put down what I have in mind immediately after my return before the problems of India fill my mind.

3 I have had      ion to visit some part of Europe almost every year since we attained independence and of course I

have visited some other countries also. Some countries, like England, have been visited by me repeatedly during these past nine years or so.

4. The major impression I gathered is one of unceasing activity and progress made in construction and in the living standards of the people. It is a little difficult to remember that eleven years ago the Second World War ended leaving large parts of Europe in a state of utter devastation. The ruined cities, which had often been reduced to a mass of rubble, have risen again, ports which had been destroyed are busier and bigger than ever, broken down factories have been renovated and new ones constructed, great thoroughfares and highways have been built in cities and the countryside, and life continues its even course but at a much more accelerated pace. Everywhere there are signs of ever-rising standards of life for the common people.

5. It is intriguing to compare this busy and peaceful life of Europe with the political conflicts and fears of impending war. Yet both are real, though I believe that there is a marked relaxation in the political sphere, and war, though still an overhanging danger, is not thought of so much as a present one.

6. This contrast between politics and developing economies is perhaps more in evidence in France than elsewhere because in France politics are in a complete mess and difficult for an outsider to understand. Governments come and go with unfailing regularity.<sup>1</sup> The Algerian struggle goes on with its tragedy and its tremendous drain on France, apart from the crisis of conscience that is evident among the intellectual classes of France. But in spite of all this production in France is at an all-time high level, wages are high and social security measures are also very considerable.

1. After the resignation on 21 May of Guy Mollet after holding office for 16 months a ministerial crisis ensued till Maurice Bourges-Maunoury succeeded in forming a Government of 11 June 1957 after others like Rene Planchon, Antonie Pinay, Pierre Pflimlin and Rene Billeres had failed to form a Government.

7 In Italy also politics are in a state of disrepair.<sup>2</sup> But economic conditions generally are said to be good and production is high. Even South Italy, which was previously much neglected, is better off today. In England there can be no doubt that in spite of the disasters it has suffered in the recent past and the gradual fading out of large parts of her empire, internal living conditions are good and the standards of the common people high. In Western Germany it is well-known that production increased at a great pace and not only have the ruined cities been built up again, but many millions of refugees, chiefly from East European countries, have been rehabilitated. There is no unemployment in most of these West European countries.

8 In the Soviet Union progress on the economic plane and in regard to living standards has been continuous, though even now it has not reached the standard of the West European countries. In regard to the countries of Eastern Europe like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., I do not know enough to express an opinion. It is clear, however, that they have passed through grave economic difficulties, partly due to too great a stress being laid on rapid industrialization at the cost of agriculture. As is well-known, there have been many stresses and strains both in the political and the economic fields in these countries and inner changes are taking place in all of them. These are most evident in Poland, Hungary, and especially the city of Budapest, had a terrible experience last year and its economy was broken up and much destruction caused in the city. Outwardly there has been a remarkable recovery there, chiefly due to large-scale aid from the Soviet Union. But the inner ferment continues. In Poland I remember noting with great surprise the great rebuilding that had been done in the ruined city of Warsaw and elsewhere.

2 On 6 May, Antonio Segni's coalition Government resigned after the Social Democratic Party withdrew support. Adone Zoli Christian Democrat formed the Government on 20 May 1957.

9. I have recently visited the Scandinavian countries<sup>3</sup> and I have been much impressed by them. In all of them there is a well-established and long-standing democratic tradition, and Sweden has been blessed by peace ever since the time of Napoleon. Standards are very high, more especially in Sweden. People in all these countries are very likeable and are in close contact with each other. Finland stands somewhat apart and yet is closely connected. It went through a very difficult time when it was invaded by the Soviet armies in the course of the last great war. Having suffered much themselves during the war they had to pay a heavy indemnity and part with a part of their territory in Kerelia. The way the people of Finland met these heavy demands upon them with courage and sacrifice is remarkable. They paid their indemnity in good time. As for the people of that part of Kerelia which was transferred to the Soviet Union, I am told that every single inhabitant of that particular area numbering several hundred thousands marched into Finland on the appointed day, leaving the transferred territory without a population. That was an extraordinary instance of discipline and love of their homeland.

10. Recently the relations between Finland and Russia have improved and some small adjustments of territory have taken place in favour of Finland.<sup>4</sup> The country is full of forests and lakes. Indeed, it is supposed to have one hundred thousand lakes. The climate is very severe and the so-called summer brief and fleeting. The people are tough and athletic and they have carried off a large number of the gold medals in the World Olympic Games.<sup>5</sup>

3. Nehru visited Denmark from 15 to 18 June, Finland from 18 to 20 June, Norway from 20 to 22 June, and Sweden from 22 to 25 June 1957.

4. Joint communiques of 2 February and 12 June 1957 recalled the good neighbourly relations that had existed between the two countries, recognized the economic importance of the Salma Canal to Finland and granted Finland the right of free transit through it.

5. At the XVIth Olympic Games held at Melbourne from 22 November to 8 December 1956 Finland won 3 gold medals.

11. In all the Scandinavian countries, while industry has developed considerably, it is the peasant farmer that still is the dominant feature on the landscape. They are known for their cooperative movement and the high standards in animal husbandry and in the production of dairy products.

12. Sweden is probably (in common perhaps with Switzerland) the most prosperous country in Europe. Living standards of the people are very high and every kind of social security measure has been introduced. Indeed, the problems of Sweden are what are called those of too much prosperity. They do not quite know what more to do in regard to social advance. And yet I was told that crime was on the increase in Sweden, especially juvenile delinquency. There was some complaint also of an excessive consumption of alcohol which probably led both to the increase in juvenile delinquency as well as road accidents. Another alarming contrast is in Switzerland which, in spite of its high standards for the common people, is supposed to have the highest rate of suicide in Europe. Whether this is due to excessive cold and a severe climate or to some other causes I do not know.

13. Thus, the overall impression of Europe, whether West or East, is one of continuing progress, hard work and ever higher standards of living. It is painful to compare these standards with the poverty of India and other like countries in the East. While we make slow progress, these European countries are probably increasing the gap between our standards and theirs. This is, in the main, due to the use of scientific methods and higher industrial and agricultural techniques. Also, of course, to the hard work of disciplined communities. I think we must realize that people in Europe work much harder and in a more disciplined way than we in India. In effect, therefore, it is the progressive industrialization that has led to these higher standards. A time has been reached, however, and this is most evident in the United States of America, when the utilization of leisure is becoming a major problem. Probably in the course of a few years in the United States the hours of work will progressively

decrease as higher techniques are employed. There may be only a four-day week of work and three days every week of leisure. The progress in this direction in Europe is slower, but it points the same way. Possibly, it is this lack of proper adjustment of leisure hours that leads to many maladjustments in society. In Europe, far more than in the United States, there is a deeper cultural and even perhaps a spiritual background which holds the social fabric together.

14. Looking at this broad picture of Europe, East and West, the major ideological differences and conflicts seem to be less important than is imagined. There are marked differences of course. But by and large these various countries and their peoples move in the same direction and probably these ideological differences will gradually tone down. The welfare state and good living standards for everybody are accepted objectives and they are being progressively reached, mainly through industrial techniques. The recent changes in the Soviet Union would lead one to think that the process of liberalization and greater individual freedom will continue. On the other hand, there is the process of greater socialization in Western European countries. Thus the gap between the two is likely to be lessened.

15. As evidence of higher standards, more especially in Western Europe, one sees the vast number of cars on the roads. Every successive year that I have visited Europe I have noticed this number increasing till the roads, both in the city and in the rural areas, are full of them. Major problems of road traffic arise and road accidents become more and more frequent, even though there is far more road sense in these countries than in India. The new road building programmes in all these countries are on a spacious scale. One sees both in the city as well as in the countryside broad double track roads for motor traffic with a patch of greenery in between. Then there are separate tracks for bicycles and footpaths for pedestrians. The only countries where very broad roads have been built in excess of the actual traffic is Russia. They have planned for the future. In the West European countries it is the traffic that has always exceeded the capacities of the

roads and an attempt is made to keep pace with it with all kinds of devices.

16 Another fact that impresses one is the enormous amount of construction work that is going on everywhere. Not only in Europe, but even in Cairo I noticed big buildings being put up and new and broad avenues laid out. Egypt appears to have good architects and town-planners and even during the past few years I have noticed greater improvements in the city of Cairo. Buildings go up with great rapidity and I am told that in Egypt the cost of construction compares favourably with other countries.

17 Another major impression which I gathered was of the increasing prevalence of the English language. It is by far now the most important language used for international purposes and in many countries it is a compulsory second language, often in addition to others. In view of our language controversy in India, it is interesting to observe that there are sometimes four compulsory second languages in some countries, i.e. English, German, French and sometimes another. No one appears to object to this and they take all these in a bunch in the secondary stage, in addition sometimes to classical languages.

18 Europe has beautiful cities, many of them with particular individualities which are a mixture of history, tradition, architecture, etc. London is known to most of us and is attractive in its own way, though far from beautiful. Paris has a peculiar charm and in addition has always been known to have an intellectual ferment. Rome, Venice and Florence have each their particular grace and charm as well as historical tradition. Prague and Budapest are also among the beautiful cities of Europe. From the architectural point of view, however, I am inclined to think that two of the most beautiful cities of Europe are Leningrad and Stockholm. Both have the great advantage, like Venice, of waterways running inside the city. Leningrad owes its beauty chiefly to Peter the Great and subsequent builders. Stockholm is a remarkably successful combination of the old and the new.

To see it from the air or even from the ground is to feast one's eyes on beauty.

19 Nearly all these great cities have vast parks and gardens attached to them or in their midst. It struck me powerfully how we in India lack these parks. The great city of Bombay has practically no open space except the beach. There are the Hanging Gardens and one or two minor gardens. Calcutta has the *maidan*. I wish that our city planners in India thought more of laying out parks which have become so essential to the life of a great city.

20 One possible advantage of visiting other countries and meeting all types of persons there is to see one's own country from a distance and in some perspective and to contrast it with the others. It is always difficult to judge of conditions or customs to which we have been used and which we take for granted. From a distance they do not appear so obvious and sometimes may compare very unfavourably with others. We are all the products of our own environment, our thinking, traditions and history and it is a good thing that there is so much variety in the world. But variety need not mean the adherence to out of date customs and ways of life which come in the way of a good life for our people. I have naturally observed much in foreign countries which I do not particularly like, but I have also seen much which is superior to our own way of life and from which we can learn much with profit. This applies to our social conditions as well as to political. It is disheartening to observe how much of our energy has been spent and wasted over rather trivial controversies which naturally show up our immaturity in that respect.

21 Coming to broader problems, the first relates to disarmament. There can be little doubt that there is today a widespread sentiment all over the world calling for progress towards disarmament and, more particularly, in regard to atomic tests and explosions. Even Governments are being forced to move in that direction and it is possible that some results might be achieved. But fear and suspicion still dominate the world. The country which thinks itself more

powerful wants to retain that superior position, even though it is fairly clear that this will give little advantage if there is mutual destruction of all. In England there is a certain satisfaction that they also belong to the inner circle of the hydrogen bomb-makers. In France there is the expectation of making such a bomb in future. Still I think that something good, however small for the present, will emerge out of these discussions on disarmament.

22. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference<sup>6</sup> produced nothing exciting. In fact it was rather a dull affair. Differences of viewpoints become more marked and the attempt to find phrases to satisfy everybody becomes progressively more difficult. The chief event of the Conference was, of course, the participation of Dr Nkrumah<sup>7</sup>, Prime Minister of Ghana. I have invited him to visit India and I hope he will be able to do so before long.

23. On my return I paid brief visits to Cairo and Khartoum.<sup>8</sup> In Cairo I had long talks with President Nasser and his colleagues. The more I see of President Nasser the more impressed I am by his integrity and straightforwardness. In the intricate politics of the Middle Eastern countries he stands out as an outstanding figure representing the vital nationalism of Egypt and to some extent of the Arab countries. Our relations with Egypt are of the friendliest. Recently some of the Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Jordan have fallen away from Egypt. I think they are already realizing that this is not to their advantage. The people of these countries certainly do not approve of the recent policies pursued by their Governments and thus a hiatus is created between the Governments and the people. In Egypt, though obviously there is no democracy as we know it, President Nasser and his Government undoubtedly represent their people and

6. Held in London from 26 June to 5 July 1957.

7. Kwame Nkrumah. For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 357

8. From 10 to 14 July 1957.

15 July, 1957

51.

they are trying to move gradually towards a democratic set up.

24 In Sudan the people were simple and likeable. They are new to the world of international affairs and sometimes are a little confused as to what path they should pursue.

25. I have mentioned above that there is a certain feeling of relaxation from tension visible in Europe. This I believe is so, but I do not wish to convey an exaggerated impression of this. Perhaps it is more a hope than an actuality, for the old problems and tensions are still there and the hydrogen bomb continues to cast its malevolent shadow over people's thinking and action. Armed posts and military alliances face each other, and have spread their baneful effects over the Middle Eastern regions.

26. I should like to add that wherever I went I found a great and growing interest in India and appreciation of the progress our country is making.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 66

New Delhi  
1 August, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I shall not write to you today about foreign affairs. The internal and domestic situation fills my mind, as it must yours, and I should like to refer here to some of the major problems before us.

2 I must confess that I have been feeling somewhat depressed and disturbed. This is not so much because of any particular matter or because of the difficulty of our problems. Difficulties have to be faced from day to day in the governance of a great country which is passing through a period of rapid transition. My distress is rather due to an inner disquiet at what I see happening in various parts of the country. A vague fear haunts me that we are succumbing to our old and corroding disease of lack of unity, disruptive tendencies and narrowness of outlook. The larger vision that inspired us and gave us strength seems to fade away and we spend our energies in petty controversies and conflicts. Not even the internal and external crises, not even the atomic and hydrogen bombs about which so much is talked about, seem to shake us up and pull us out of this rather parochial outlook and complacency.

3 I wrote to you immediately after my return<sup>1</sup> from my tour abroad and gave you some of my impressions of this changing world and its manifold problems. Now, this outside world recedes into the background and I become enveloped in the atmosphere of India. It is not a clear atmosphere and the air is thick with petty controversies and

little attention is paid to dangers that concern us and the great things that are happening in India and the world. Our Vice-President has, on several occasions, drawn attention to this weakening of the spirit and the crisis of character.<sup>2</sup> I cannot discuss these matters in this letter. Indeed my own mind is not clear about them; but I wanted to tell you how troubled I feel and how I grope for some light.

4 It is possible that within nine or ten days, we shall have to face a number of strikes.<sup>3</sup> The major one appears to be that of the Posts and Telegraphs employees. I met a large number of representatives of their federation<sup>4</sup> and had a long talk with them. It was a friendly talk, and I came away with the definite impression that we understood and appreciated each other and that the strike was not likely to take place. To my surprise, I found the next morning that the decision for a strike had been confirmed. As you know, we had decided even previously to have a Commission<sup>5</sup> to examine thoroughly the pay structure of the Central Services, keeping in view the economic situation in the country, the Five Year Plan, the salaries, etc. given in the States and many other relevant factors. That was the basic and principal demand, not only of the P. & T. people, but of others. We went further and said that this Commission could consider the question of interim relief also. Further we could not go. Indeed, there

2. For instance, S. Radhakrishnan in a speech at Bombay on 15 June 1957 had said, "In our own country moral life is shaken to its foundations Love of wealth and power has gained wide acceptance.... The present predicament is a challenge to us. It is a crisis of character. We have to subordinate our self-interest to public good, develop conscience about public funds, effect economies in our private life and public duty."

3. The Posts and Telegraphs Employees Federation and the National Council of the Confederation of Central Government Employees Unions had given a call for an all-India strike from the midnight of 8-9 August 1957 if their negotiations with the Government failed. The demands included appointment of a Pay Commission and merger of dearness allowance with pay.

4. On 26 July 1957.

5. On 17 July 1957 the Central Cabinet had considered the appointment of a Second Pay Commission.

was nowhere else to go to. The persistence in this particular strike as well as other proposed strikes, in spite of the friendly and cooperative attitude of the Government, leads one to the inevitable conclusion that forces other than economic are at play, that many of these people are led or misled by other urges and pressures. If that is so, then obviously, we cannot deal with them on the economic ground. The mere fact that a considerable number of employees' unions have simultaneously given notices of strike itself is significant. We are not dealing with different categories of people with different problems, but rather with something which does not necessarily relate itself to their economic demands.

5 I recognize, of course, that there is a common economic factor and that various circumstances, including the rise in prices of essential commodities, have had a considerable effect on the living conditions of our people. We have to pay every attention to this and do our utmost not only for our employees, but for others also. So far as Central Government employees are concerned, the decision to have a Commission on the pay structure as well as the possibility of this Commission recommending interim measures, is a major step to deal with this problem.<sup>6</sup> In addition, we are trying to evolve procedures for a cooperative approach in all fields, both industrial and administrative, to deal with such problems from time to time and not allow them to grow till they become serious. We have had a measure of this cooperative approach in the past, but it has not gone far enough, more especially in the administrative field. There are staff committees and the like; but, broadly speaking, they have not been very effective. We should pursue this matter further so that there should be the closest contact and consultation at frequent intervals and a feeling should be created of partnership and common tasks in a joint undertaking. The successful working of that undertaking is

6 On 3 August 1957 the Central Government appointed a Pay Commission under the chairmanship of Justice Jagannatha Das.

essential not only for the larger good of the nation, but also for those who are employed in serving it. Good work can only be done when there is a feeling of contentment and we should endeavour to produce that feeling. It is true that we cannot do much that we want to, because of our lack of resources. But much can be done still and, above all, there can be a closer association, as among partners, which creates an atmosphere to the advantage of all concerned.

6 A recent conference<sup>7</sup> dealing with industrial matters was, on the whole, a success and the resolutions passed should help in the maintenance of industrial peace and the solution of problems as they arise. We have laid down that it is our objective to have the participation of workers in our industries and we are beginning in a small way. I am glad to note that a number of private industrialists have also accepted this proposal. Conditions in administrative services are different and cannot be dealt with in the same way. But a friendly and cooperative approach in regard to conditions of work, amenities, etc. is equally important there.

7 Coming back to the possibility of a Posts and Telegraphs strike, it has become clear to us that the reasons for this and other proposed strikes are not wholly based on economic factors, though undoubtedly they play an important part. We were and are prepared to consider these factors to the best of our ability. But there appear to be other reasons also behind these threats of strike. In these circumstances, it is clear that the Government has no choice but to meet this situation firmly and to do everything in its power to carry on the Services which are so essential for the life of the community and the nation. We shall do so and, in doing so, I hope that every attempt will be made not to worsen the situation by threats and counter-threats or by violence of any

<sup>7</sup> The Indian Labour Conference which met in New Delhi on 11 and 12 July 1957 recommended the setting up of tripartite wage boards for fixation of minimum wages for the employees of 'industries including those in the public sector'

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7 Coming back to the possibility of a Posts and Telegraphs strike, it has become clear to us that the reasons for this and other proposed strikes are not wholly based on economic factors, though undoubtedly they play an important part. We were and are prepared to consider these factors to the best of our ability. But there appear to be other reasons also behind these threats of strike. In these circumstances, it is clear that the Government has no choice but to meet this situation firmly and to do everything in its power to carry on the Services which are so essential for the life of the community and the nation. We shall do so and, in doing so, I hope that every attempt will be made not to worsen the situation by threats and counter-threats or by violence of any

7. The Indian Labour Conference which met in New Delhi on 11 and 12 July 1957 recommended the setting up of tripartite wage boards for fixation of minimum wages for the employees of certain industries including those in the public sector.

kind. Our approach has to be firm, but it has also always to be friendly, because we deal with our own people whom we have to win over to what we consider right courses.<sup>8</sup> Threats have been held out not only to the Government, but to the people generally. Our answer is not that of counter-threat, but one of firmly carrying on our duties and meeting our obligations and serving the people. We can only do so with the goodwill and co-operation of the people generally, and we should seek always to obtain it.

8 The whole purpose of our Five Year Plans is to improve the lot of our people, to raise their standards of living and put an end to the curse of poverty. In our endeavour to do so, we have often to face the problems of giving relief today or strengthening our economy so as to be in a position to give them adequate relief tomorrow. We have to keep both in mind, for we cannot think only of today or only of tomorrow. If we forget today, then there is present unhappiness and frustration and social unrest. If we forget tomorrow, then there is no hope for us to improve the condition of our people to any considerable extent and we continue to remain undeveloped, static and living on the verge of poverty. It is not an easy matter to balance these two considerations, for there are many uncertain factors beyond our control. Yet our approach has been that while we should concentrate on laying the foundations of future advance by the development of industry and agriculture and by investing in them, we should also give present relief. How then has it happened that our Plans have gone awry and we have to face all the difficulties that appear to overwhelm us? Why is our foreign exchange position so bad? Why have our calculations in the second Plan been upset? Is all this due to our own failure in planning and in thinking ahead or is it due to something happening which was beyond our control and which we could not foresee?

9. I suppose both these reasons apply. It is true that many things have happened which we could not reasonably

foresee. All our estimates have gone up greatly chiefly because prices in foreign countries have gone up. The Suez Canal conflict also hit us. Another new and unexpected burden has been in regard to Defence and we have had to import from abroad more foodgrains than we had expected.

10. Why has Defence suddenly come up before us in this way and forced our hands to spend more and more in foreign exchange, at a moment when we could ill-afford to do so, when indeed we wanted to save every bit of foreign exchange? Few things have pained me so much recently as to spend large sums of money on the apparatus for Defence. I wish we could avoid it and spend this money instead for our schemes of development and in bettering the lot of our people. But, in some matters, and most of all, where the safety and security of the country are concerned, there is no choice and no risks can be taken. All our efforts to live at peace with Pakistan have been frustrated and the leaders of Pakistan repeatedly declared India to be their enemy and, with the help of foreign countries, built up their military system. This build-up has been very great indeed both in quantity and quality and it is patently aimed at India. There is little secrecy about it and we are told from public platforms that it may be used against us. It may not be used, to begin with, openly as in a war. But there are many other ways of starting trouble and some of these have been indicated with some frankness by ex-Major General Akbar Khan,<sup>9</sup> who has a reputation for ability and persistence.<sup>10</sup> If trouble starts, then it is difficult for us to say when and how it will stop. The information we get from many sources points to trouble and we are having foretaste of it already by many cases of sabotage in Kashmir itself.

11. This is the grave risk that faces us from external sources

9 For b. fn see Vol. 2, p. 359.

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and we dare not be complacent about it. And so, in spite of our manifold difficulties, we have had to make this bitter choice and spend our precious foreign exchange for Defence

12 Then there is the question of food. We have had to get foodgrains from abroad at the cost of our foreign exchange. Whether we could have avoided this or not with better planning, it is a little difficult for me to say. It is becoming increasingly clear that all our planning, all our attempts at industrialization depend basically and ultimately on agricultural production and on the maintenance of adequate but moderate prices of foodgrains. I shall deal with this matter later in this letter.

13 Unexpected things have thus happened to upset our planning. Nevertheless I feel that the fault is ours also. Perhaps we were too complacent, perhaps we did not look far enough ahead. Perhaps there was lack of co-ordination. After all, we have a Planning Commission and it is the business of the Planning Commission not merely to draw up our Five Year Plans but to look ahead and advise us from day to day, more especially in regard to any policy which might affect our plan and our economy. Have we been wise in pursuing our past policies? I am by no means holding the Planning Commission responsible. In fact, I think that we have all to share the responsibility and I hope that we shall be wiser in the future. The fact is that there has been defective appreciation of what was likely to happen and this has got us into trouble. It is not much good having post mortems when we have so much work to do. But we must learn from this and not repeat the same mistakes in the future. If we plan, there must be co-ordination, there must be looking ahead. We cannot leave matters to the play of a market economy, of prices being pushed up and of odd things happening which we do not want to happen.

14 In this connection, I should also like to point out that it has become essential for the Centre and the States to pull together and not to pull in different directions. I am not blaming the States for we have had a great deal of co-operation from them and I am grateful for it. But in the

larger economy of the nation, we dare not follow any policies which contradict each other. Thus we have States which are surplus States in foodgrains and we have States which are deficit. The surplus States must realize that they have to think and act in terms of the country. If they do not possibly they might make a little money by higher prices, but they will do so at a great cost not only to the country but ultimately to themselves. I would not even mind so much if the farmer got a better price, but I do mind the retailers and the wholesalers profiting at the cost not only of the community but ultimately of the future of the Plan.

15 I would repeat that the keystone of our planning is agricultural production. We can never have surpluses for industrial growth unless these come from agriculture. If, on the other hand, we have deficits in our food production, then instead of the surplus which would add to our strength, we have a process of corrosion of even the strength that we possess. I think that it is realized now how important this question is. But I have still a feeling that it is not realized adequately. It was with great difficulty that we raised our target of food production for the second Five Year Plan to around thirty per cent or so. Our Planning Commission had originally asked for forty per cent, and this was not a figure in the air for they had worked it out. When more production is asked for, immediately demands come for fertilisers, etc. This is understandable of course, but nevertheless a very great deal can be done by other kinds of manure, and not enough attention is paid to them, although they are far better in the long run. I know of cases where no fertiliser has been used and the land has been improved very considerably.

16 Food production means principally the production of wheat and rice now, although other grains count also. Even as between these two, rice is far the most important, because we require three times or more of rice than wheat in India. Therefore it is rice production that has become of the utmost importance now. We heard a great deal, about two years ago, of Japanese methods and how successful they were in increasing our rice yield. We were happy and grew

complacent, a fatal thing to do at any time. Now it is rice that governs the situation and it is the prices of rice in the market that lead to most of our difficulties. The cost of living goes up, demands are made for higher wages and salaries, for pay commissions, and the like, people are unhappy and in difficulties, our estimates go up, our Plan suffers, and so on.

17 Next to food production, the question of the price of foodgrains is thus of vital importance. Indeed, the two are intimately connected. If the prices of foodgrains go up, then the whole fabric of our planning suffers irretrievably. That does not mean that we should make the poor farmer suffer. It means that we must give him a fair price, and no more, and that we should put an end to profiteering by middlemen. How can we keep the price of foodgrains at reasonable levels? The only course appears to be to have a large stock of foodgrains available at every time, and even be prepared for natural calamities, floods, droughts, etc. That has been our objective for a long time. But, we have failed to achieve it. It is not possible to maintain large stocks of foodgrains if the Government has to buy them in the open market. It is well known that the moment Government goes into the open market, prices shoot up. The only other course, therefore, is for Government purchases of foodgrains to take place compulsorily at fixed and reasonable prices. It was with this object in view that there was some Parliamentary legislation some two or three months ago.

18 We have just had a debate in Parliament<sup>11</sup> on food and agriculture. In the course of this debate, a great deal was said against controls<sup>12</sup> and against compulsion in procurement of foodgrains. I do not like controls and I should like to avoid them, chiefly because they bring in their train a great deal of corruption. Apparently, we are not organized enough to deal with a widespread control system with any success. And yet, if circumstances compel us to do so, in order to save

11 In Lok Sabha on 29 and 30 July 1957.

12 In fact A P Jain Minister for Food and Agriculture stated that his Ministry was opposed to controls.

ourselves and the Plan, we shall inevitably have to go in for controls whether we like it or not. This fact must be kept in mind. For the present, there is no question of controls, and I have merely mentioned this so that we might think clearly about future possibilities. But, compulsory procurement of foodgrains at fixed prices is not controls in the larger sense, and I see no way out except this way.

19. At the present moment, we have to face this curious position that there is no real scarcity of foodgrains in India, possibly there is even a surplus. But, nevertheless, prices have gone up. We are told that there are substantial surpluses of rice in Andhra and Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, and that these surpluses have been hoarded by dealers, wholesale or retail. If that is so, then surely it is very odd that we should suffer these high prices.

20. Hard realities and the facts of life today compel us to think and not merely to rely on old ways and methods. Both the Centre and the States will have to look at these problems from the larger and coordinated points of view, if we have to save ourselves from drifting downhill and shattering the Plan. As a matter of fact, our critical foreign exchange situation, which has been made even more difficult because of food and Defence purchases, is going to compel us to cut down many things that we have wanted to do and have even included in the Plan. That will be a very painful operation, and I am afraid no one is going to like it. It will affect many States as well as the Central Ministries. But, if circumstances compel us, then we shall have to swallow many a bitter pill. I want all the States to appreciate this position because so much depends upon their proper appreciation and co-operation. So much depends upon how we tackle the food situation and build up adequate stocks by getting foodgrains from those who are selfish and anti-social enough to hoard them today in order to profit at the expense of the community.

21. It seems to me that we should try to fix some definite prices for our foodgrains especially rice and wheat and adapt our policy so that these prices are maintained. We

might even declare that we are going to do this and will not hesitate to take the necessary measures to that end. Such a declaration might well have a direct steadyng effect as well as indirect consequences to our advantage.

22 Whether in food production or in many other matters, we have attached, as you know, the greatest importance to the community development programme. That programme embodies something more than higher production. It is the outcome of a certain philosophy and it depends upon faith in our people and their capacity to make good, given the opportunity. If our people and that means ultimately our vast rural population, cannot make good, then all our planning is futile. Democracy means faith in the people plus, no doubt, many other things. The community development programme is meant to develop self-reliance, self-respect and co-operation among the people. It has been criticized much, and the criticisms are often true. Nevertheless, it is, I believe, the biggest thing that we are doing in India and the biggest hope for our future. That hope lies not merely in some material advance, but rather in the building up of the people who, then, will be capable of advancing themselves.

23. It is the philosophy underlying co-operation that is behind the whole community development movement. This movement, as it grows, will include almost every activity in that area, affecting even the governmental structure. We have always thought of the community development movement having its basis in the village panchayat and the village cooperative—the administrative and economic sides of village life.

24 I find, however, that there is some confusion about the kind of cooperative movement that we should have. My own idea has always been that a cooperative should be non-official. It must develop the people's capacity and teach them to rely on themselves. Also, that a cooperative must be some kind of a larger family, that is there should be intimate relations among the members of the cooperative. If it is too large then that intimacy is lost. If it is officialized then the

element of self-reliance and self-growth is lost. A cooperative is not just a credit-giving institution or a bank. It is, or should be, something with life and spirit in it, drawing its sustenance from its members and giving back something to them. This is the philosophical approach.

25. There has been some heated argument about agrarian cooperatives. Some people have urged them, others have vigorously opposed them. The chief argument of the opponents of this type of cooperative work has been that it is something akin to collective farming and, therefore, it is bad. That is not the argument. But, anyhow, cooperative farming is not collective farming and, in India, whatever we do has to be voluntary and based on the democratic method. There is no question of compulsion.

26. But the question of cooperative farming really does not arise at this stage, except perhaps in new land or here and there where people may agree to it. The argument for cooperative farming is based on the very small holdings that farmers have. In countries where holdings may be twenty or thirty acres or more, this may not be necessary. But, where the holding is one or two acres, it is not possible to use many modern methods (I am not referring to tractors for the present) and our technique of farming will not improve. It is only when we employ better techniques that we can improve our yield.

27. However, cooperative farming, even if it is desired, cannot appear suddenly. We have to build up cooperatives for more limited purposes and get people accustomed to them. Later, if they so choose, they can take further steps forward.

28. There is also no particular reason why we should have one rigid pattern for the whole of India, which is so variegated and where conditions and climate vary so much. We can experiment in various ways. Whatever we do, we have to do it with the willing acceptance and co-operation of the peasantry. So far as our rural life is concerned, it will have to be coordinated more and more with the community

development programmes. The cooperative movement which is going to play such an important part in rural life, must also necessarily be so coordinated with it and should not be something apart. If it is apart, then both co-operation and community development will suffer.

29 You will forgive me, I hope, for writing rather discursively and at length about these questions. As a matter of fact, they have been dealt with fairly adequately in the second Five Year Plan Report. But many people appear to have already forgotten what that Report contains and drift in different directions. Whatever the direction we go to, it must be clear, and it is open to us to change it whenever we so feel. But, there should be no pulling in two directions at one time because that neutralizes all effort. I have written to you at length because I want you to think about these matters and for us perhaps to meet together to decide exactly what course we have to pursue.

30 In fact, I have in mind the possibility of a meeting of the National Development Council in the course of six weeks or two months, to consider these important questions that I have discussed in this letter as well as others. The Central Government can do little good without the fullest understanding and co-operation of the States. But, the States also cannot do much without the understanding and co-operation of the Central Government. We have to pull together and to pull in one direction.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
 15 August, 1957  
 Independence Day

My dear Chief Minister,

Today, the tenth anniversary of our independence, my mind naturally looks back to the achievement of these past ten years. Inevitably also, because of the centenary of the great struggle of 1857, we think of these hundred years of storm and stress, of ups and downs, of sacrifice and of ultimate success in so far as political freedom is concerned. All of us have heard and know something about the War of 1857. Till recently most accounts of this war were from British sources and by British writers and were very partial to the British side of the story. It is true that even in the British histories, notably in Kaye<sup>1</sup> and Malleson's<sup>2</sup> massive volumes, there is much material for us to have some glimpse of the Indian side here and there. There was also a little volume by Edward Thompson,<sup>3</sup> which brought out more vividly the sacrifices and the sufferings of the Indians in this struggle and how ruthlessly the British forces had behaved. On the Indian side, so far as I know, the first book on the subject was Savarkar's.<sup>4</sup> As a history this was very inadequate and was tilted to the other side. It could not be considered an objective account.

1. John William Kaye (1814-1876) Secretary, India Office, 1858-74; author of *History of the Sepoy War* (3 volumes, 1864-76).

2. George Bruce Malleson (1825-1898). Author of *The History of the Indian Mutiny* (3 volumes, 1878-80).

3. (1886-1946). Friend of Nehru; novelist, historian and writer on public affairs, author of *The Other Side of the Medal* (1925).

4. V.D. Savarkar (1883-1966). Conducted Indian revolutionary movement from abroad, 1906-10, convicted and imprisoned in Andaman Islands 1911-21 President Hindu Mahasabha, 1937-42; author of *The Indian War of Independence 1857-1909*

and it was inaccurate in many parts. The chief virtue of it was that for the first time an Indian had presented the Indian side of this tragic story. Subsequently other books have appeared by Indians, but hardly any of these could be called an objective history. Recently, more accurate and historical accounts have appeared, notably that of Dr. S.N. Sen<sup>5</sup> called *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*.

2. But whatever the written history might say, this war of independence of 1857 still lives in the vivid memory of our people and many of the leaders of it are national heroes. I cannot speak for all parts of India, nor can I speak with any confidence of the younger generation today. But I remember very well that when I was a boy I used to hear innumerable tales of 1857. Later, when I wandered about the villages of what is now Uttar Pradesh, almost every village had a story to tell. We came across many people who had lost their relatives in this war, some of them had been blown off from the guns. It was said that along the long road from Kanpur to Allahabad there was not a tree which did not have a number of people hanging from its branches. My memories date back to the beginning of this century when as a little boy I listened to these vivid stories which impressed me, as they must have impressed so many of my generation who lived in Delhi or Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or some other parts of the country where this war was fought fiercely and with valour. So whatever historians may write, the people's version of this great rising has coloured their thinking for a hundred years and still forms vivid pictures in their minds.

3. The War of 1857 was a major event, both from the point of view of the people and of the British Government. It ended a certain historical phase in India and began another. But, few people, perhaps, remember that even after 1857, there were a number of risings, though much smaller in character, which were ruthlessly suppressed. One interes-

5. (1890-1962). Director, National Archives of India, 1947-49; Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University 1950- his book *Eighteen Fifty Seven* 1957 was commissioned by the Government.

ting and significant one was what is called the Kuka rising in Southern Punjab.<sup>6</sup> The Kukas (now they are called Namdharies) were, and are, an agrarian sect of the Sikhs, rather closer to the Hindus than the other Sikhs. They were suppressed also with cruelty, and their chief and Guru was exiled to Rangoon, where, previously, Bahadur Shah<sup>7</sup> had been sent. The interesting thing about these Kukas or Namdharies was that even after their suppression by military force, they continued quietly to follow a policy of non-co-operation in many matters. They were sturdy peasants, well-disciplined and they kept away from governmental schools or service and even avoided, I believe, using the post office. They used hand-spun and handwoven khadi. When Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement came, it was easy for them to fit into it.

4 But, these were sporadic outbursts. Indian nationalism took another turn and led a little more than a quarter of a century after the struggle of 1857-58, to the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. It started with small beginnings and with what might be called a moderate objective. It was based on a new class, the British educated middle classes or rather the upper middle classes. They had been nurtured on British literature and British ideas, and spoke the language of British Liberals. How many of us remember that the Indian National Congress is seventy-two years old today? Broadly speaking, it might be said that the history of the Congress during this long period was the history of India, struggling for freedom and achieving it. Even as the Congress spread and affected more and more groups and classes of our people, so the strength of the nation grew. From the select English educated middle

6. The Kuka (Namdhari) movement for reestablishment of the Sikh power in North-West India, launched in 1857 by Guru Ram Singh, 1816-85), was severely repressed by the Government and a number of his followers were executed and he himself was exiled to Rangoon.

7 (1775-1862) Last Mughal Emperor of Delhi 1857-58 exiled to Rangoon in 1858 for taking himself with the 1857 revolt.

classes who started the Congress, it widened its appeal to the lower middle classes of India. This change-over brought a crisis in the Congress history, which used to be referred to as the conflict between the moderates, led by the great Indian Gopal Krishna Gokhale<sup>8</sup>, and the extremists, led by Lokmanya Tilak<sup>9</sup>. Even though the moderates appeared to have won, it was really Tilak who represented the new fighting spirit of India and the lower middle classes which were coming into the political field. Tilak won in the end, as he was bound to do, for he represented a new historic force that was coming into being. That was the second phase of the Congress.

5 The third phase came with Gandhiji, when the appeal of the Congress went to the peasantry and, to some extent, to the industrial workers. It was then that the Congress became broad-based on the masses of India and, even though a fringe at the top left it, its strength and challenge to the British rule grew. This brings us to the Gandhi era in our history, which changed the face of India and, ultimately, brought independence.

6 The Indian National Congress was, as its name implies, a national movement and not a class movement. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how its class character changed gradually and it became more and more inclusive of the wider masses and more especially of the peasantry. Even as this change took place, the purely political programme of the Congress also underwent change, and it began to develop an economic outlook. That economic outlook was not very precise. But, broadly, it was governed by two features. One was its sympathy for the underdog in India, and the second was its agrarian outlook. This demand for agrarian reform was inevitable because the vast number of

8. (1866-1915). The most outstanding of the moderate leaders in the Congress; President of the Congress, 1905; founder of the Servants of India Society, 1905.

9. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920). Imprisoned in Mandalay Jail in Burma from 1908 to 1914 edited *Kesari* and *Mahratta* in English and Marathi author of *Orion Arctic Home in the Vedas* and *Gita Rahasya*.

peasants in the Congress made their influence felt, even though the leadership was largely middle class.

7 Thus, the national movement that developed in India, under Gandhiji's guidance and inspiration, had some peculiar features which were absent from the national movements of the other countries. It was something more than a political movement and, progressively, it had an economic content. Apart from this, it represented certain moral values which Gandhiji had impressed upon it repeatedly and persistently. Truth and non-violence, means and ends, were the foundations of Gandhiji's approach to politics. It would be an exaggeration to say that the people of India became wedded to truth and non-violence or that they attached importance to means more than ends. But there can be no doubt that they were very greatly influenced and inspired by Gandhiji's teaching and, because of that, their thinking and minds became progressively moulded by it. Thus, for the first time in the world's history we saw a great political and national mass movement wedded to these ideals and developing a technique of action which was wholly new and which undoubtedly has impressed the world greatly.

8 That brings us to recent times and to the achievement of independence by that technique and those methods. Contemporaneously with Gandhi's movement came the Soviet Revolution with its Marxist ideology and its stress on class struggle and violence. So far as ideals were concerned, there was perhaps no marked conflict in the ends to be reached between these two methods, although obviously there were many differences. But the basic difference was in the methods to be adopted and the psychology to be created. One was of peace and avoidance of hatred and violence, the other was full of class conflict and hatred and violence. Both ultimately wanted to do away with the domination of one class over another and thus to do away with classes. It was obvious that in the existing social framework class conflict was inherent. But the way to deal with it and ultimately to put an end to it was vastly different.

9 Hardly any major struggle in history has ended without leaving a trail of extreme bitterness behind. More especially this applies to national struggles against foreign rulers. The virtue of Gandhiji's method, even though large numbers of his followers fell very short of his teachings, was that the minimum of hatred was produced and when a solution and a settlement came, there was no marked trail of bitterness to pursue succeeding generations. It is strange to contrast this with the present-day world full of fear and hatred and violence, dominated by the horrible spectre of nuclear warfare.

10 So after ninety years of struggle since 1857, we have had ten years of independence, and we have tried, with more or less success, to adapt some of the principles that we imbibed to the problems of national and international politics I believe we have succeeded in some ways to an extraordinary extent. I believe also that we have failed often enough. The measure of our failure is not so much what we may have done wrongly or what we might not have done which we should have done. That measure is the existence in a fairly marked degree today of provincialism, communalism, casteism, and also the tendency to violence. In the course of the struggle against a common adversary, it was relatively easy to join forces and put up a structure of national unity When that adversary left the scene, then the urge to unity became somewhat weaker and we began to relapse into our separate groups and our parochial thinking. A not unfriendly foreign writer has described as our present-day bane this provincialism and separatism which takes various forms, the traditionalists who resent change, the massive inertia of the people, and the tolerance in India of the fourth-rate. I do not think this is a correct description taken as a whole, but there are certainly elements of truth in it. There are plenty of so-called traditionalists in India who want to come in the way even of desirable change. But there are many others who are convinced that change is necessary if India is to progress and who work to that end. As for "massive inertia" I believe that India is dynamic today and

progressively becomes more so. And yet it is true that there is this inertia of the people. Perhaps it is true that we are rather tolerant of the second-rate or the third-rate and this tolerance must necessarily come in the way of our becoming a first-rate nation. The fact is that below the surface of political and economic arguments and controversies, there is an inner conflict in India in regard to these matters and the future depends upon the result of this conflict. Of course, there can be no doubt about the results because there is no future in pure traditionalism, parochialism and in tolerance of the third-rate. But these failings come in the way of progress and delay it.

11 We often talk about communalism and casteism and condemn them. And yet, many of those who condemn them, are not wholly free from them. The boundaries are not clearly marked. This communalism is bad, because it represents all those features which oppose real advance of India and which, in fact, create a psychology of separatism and narrowness of mind. In addition, it has a tendency to violence. Violence in India, whether it is based on religion or caste or economic doctrines, is even more dangerous than in other countries, for it leads immediately to disruptive tendencies. We have been too long in our history victims of disruptive and fissiparous forces. No nation of the modern world can survive if the smaller loyalties are considered more important than the larger loyalty to the nation.

12 My last letter to you referred to the impending strikes of the Posts and Telegraphs workers and others. Fortunately, those strikes were called off. This whole incident has a lesson for all of us, both Government and workers as well as others, and unless all of us learn this lesson, we shall be faced with similar situations. We should not blame the workers, for they are often hard hit by economic circumstances. We must evolve ways of trying to solve problems as they arise, and not wait for a crisis. We must, above all, fashion our policy so that some relief comes to those who need it most. It is true that at the present stage of our economic development the measure of relief is bound to be limited because if we

gave too much relief, there would be little or nothing left for future growth. It has always seemed to me that while economic questions are often not easy to solve in existing circumstances, an even greater difficulty comes from the manner of approach to these problems. If our approach is human, understanding and friendly, then much of the suspicion and distrust goes. Unfortunately, some people think of these strikes as political weapons. I do not deny the right of the workers to use the strike even as a political weapon. But, I am convinced that, in the existing circumstances in India, such strikes are harmful to workers and, of course, to the community generally. Strikes in essential services must necessarily create situations which are even more harmful.

13 As the strikes were called off, there was no necessity left for the Essential Services (Maintenance) Ordinance, and I am glad that the President has withdrawn it.<sup>10</sup> So far as the Bill<sup>11</sup> which was passed by the Lok Sabha is concerned, it has no force unless it is passed by the Rajya Sabha also, and thus placed on the Statute Book. It is not our intention to take it to the Rajya Sabha

14 As you know, we have two important taxation measures before Parliament, the Wealth Tax<sup>12</sup> and the Expenditure Tax.<sup>13</sup> Both are rather novel in India, and the

10. The Ordinance promulgated on 7 August and revoked on 12 August 1957 empowered the Government to declare any strike illegal in services regarded as essential for the community.

11. On 7 August, Lok Sabha had passed Essential Services Maintenance Bill which conferred on the Government special powers to declare such strikes illegal with severe punishments for those who held up the essential services

12. The Wealth Tax Bill provided for an imposition of an annual tax on the net wealth of individuals and Hindu undivided families and rules to determine the value of assets and rates of tax. It was passed by Lok Sabha on 29 August and by Rajya Sabha on 5 September 1957.

13. A Bill proposing that personal expenditure above a prescribed limit by individuals and Hindu undivided families to be taxed annually under the proposed Bill was passed by the two Houses of Parl on 4 and 11 Sep 1957 respective y

Expenditure Tax is novel in other countries. It must be remembered that the Expenditure Tax really comes into effect a year later. It has to be passed this year, so that arrangements may be made meanwhile to give effect to it next year. I think both these taxes are good in principle, and in the right direction. Everything new, of course, is looked at askance, especially a new tax. We gradually get used to it and then the strangeness disappears. I think that these two taxes, with such variations in regard to details as might be made, will finally be less troublesome or burdensome than is imagined. I do not know what the final shape of things will be, as that depends upon the Select Committee and, subsequently, Parliament. But, I believe that the Select Committee and, indeed, all of us have examined them with great care, and made a number of minor changes, which cumulatively make a considerable difference. All kinds of reports appear in the newspapers about conflicts in the Cabinet or elsewhere. These are greatly exaggerated and, sometimes, quite untrue. It is obvious that in dealing with these problems, there are different approaches, and they have to be harmonized. That is what we have tried to do, and I believe we have succeeded in a large measure.

15 The fact that the country has to bear the burden of fairly heavy taxation if we are to proceed with our development, is obvious. If so, then the burden has to be spread out and must also fall on many who are not well-to-do. Otherwise, we cannot get the resources for our work. It becomes essential that a considerable part of the burden must fall on those who can really afford it. This does not mean that we are out deliberately to injure any group. We have always to remember that, in any step that we take, we do not affect adversely the productive apparatus of the country. A few crores in taxation are helpful, no doubt. But, what we want is production worth many hundreds of crores. It is this increased production that counts in the end, and that will help us to raise standards and gradually to fight the poverty of the country. If production lags behind then we remain stuck up in the quicksands of poverty which sucks in an

individual and the community alike. There can be no socialist pattern of society based on poverty.

16. In India there has been a long-standing controversy as to the relative virtues of heavy industry, light industry and cottage industries. This has often been argued on the basis of high principle, though lately it has been considered more from the practical point of view of our needs and resources. It is interesting to see the development of thought in China on these issues. China is different in its ideology from India. It is an authoritarian State broadly based on the Marxist theory. But it is clear that China does not follow the rigidity which characterized the growth in the Soviet Union. Also it is realized in China more and more that conditions in China and the Soviet Union differ greatly and no ideological pattern, which is divorced from practical considerations, can achieve success.

17. There is far greater similarity between India and China in regard to the problems that we have to face. Both countries have huge populations which are predominantly agricultural. Both are industrially backward, though they are advancing with some speed in regard to industrial development. Nevertheless, they have to go very far. There is a great deal of manpower in both as well as unemployment or under-employment. Heavy industry is essential to form the basis of industrial development. At the same time, heavy industry demands a great quantity of imports from abroad and foreign exchange for them. Also it does not go far in solving the question of unemployment.

18. To begin with in China, the greatest stress was laid on the development of heavy industry. Now it is being pointed out that the emphasis must change. A Director of the State Planning Commission in China stated in a report recently that "modernized and mechanized construction demands heavy investment and a high technical level but only affords little employment; for a comparatively long period modernization and mechanization will not suit China." It is pointed out that some people were so concerned to get the most modern and most automatic equipment that they

ignored the facts of China's present economy. It was necessary to build these heavy plants and they would continue to be built. But there should be not too much concentration on them. Modern plants were characterized by high efficiency, good quality, low costs and economy in the use of labour. These could only be produced by a highly developed industry and their construction required heavy investments and much time. China is still a backward country, but rich in manpower and short of funds and technical standards were only slowly rising. The question of foreign exchange also became important. The development of "automation" which was taking place in Europe and America thus had no place at present in China.

19 This new viewpoint in China, therefore, advocated the construction of medium-sized and small plants even in the fields of metallurgy, coal mining and electric power. At present, it was pointed out that machines were not cheaper than manpower in China and this surplus manpower of the country was a prime factor when it came to deciding what sort of equipment to instal. Industrial standards depended not on the equipment that was used in the factories but on the quantity and the quality of their products. Emphasis has also been laid in China that one great advantage of smaller plants was that they could be spread out throughout the country and could thus utilize local resources and give more employment and help the development of local economies.

20 This indicates a tendency in China to move away from the previous approach. The first approach was of laying excessive stress on heavy industry only. Then came a variation and it was stated that both heavy industry and medium and small enterprises were necessary and there was room for both. Now the emphasis is rather more on the small industry and on employment. This does not mean, of course, that the leaders of China are now not in favour of heavy industry but rather that the emphasis should be changed and the heavy industry to be constructed should be such as to suit China and her excessive manpower. The Chinese are thus taking a practical and pragmatic view of the problems that

face them, more especially that of population and employment.

21 This Chinese viewpoint approaches much more the Indian viewpoint as laid down in our Five Year Plans. We have refused to accept any rigid model or theory and our approach all along has been rather pragmatic. More particularly the question of employment has always been before us. We have built huge plants and river valley schemes and I think that this was necessary. The time may now have come for us to lay greater emphasis on smaller undertakings which are more spread out all over the country and which take advantage of local resources and develop local economies. This becomes necessary also because of the pressure on us of foreign exchange. Perhaps in some ways we are even now more industrially developed than China, although in other ways they have gone ahead of us.

22 Another interesting development in China is in regard to education. It is said that there are sixty-three million students in the primary schools. Then there is a big drop to 5,150,000 in the junior middle schools. The senior middle schools have 820,000. And the Universities and various institutes 480,000. Great stress is laid that students coming out of the primary and middle schools must take part in agricultural production, and the value of manual labour is emphasized. While schools have developed rapidly in China, there is a tremendous lack of trained teaching staff. They are thus faced with the problem that students from the primary schools may not be able to go on to the junior middle schools and the junior middle school students may not be able to go on the senior middle schools, and so on. Like us in India, China is having difficulty in finding enough money for proper equipment, buildings for their schools, etc. The quality of education appears to have gone down also partly because the quality of teachers has gone down.

23 I am convinced that there are enough resources in the country, though it is not always easy to get at them. We have to adopt a policy to encourage these resources being made available for productive effort either by the State or by the

private sector. Both have to function in our present structure of society.

24 Having written so much about the past and present and about the larger matters that affect us today, I should like to refer to something which I think is rather important and which, perhaps, has not received much attention. We want both to exploit as well as conserve our natural resources. Sometimes, the desire to exploit them outruns discretion, and we forget the part of conservation. In countries like the United States of America, exploitation of natural resources has gone on at a terrific pace, and now people there are worried about the future. The growth of science and technology, which has brought so much power to man, has sometimes made him ignore the fact that nature cannot be trifled with. There is a certain interdependence between man and his environment, and any upsetting factor may bring about harmful consequences. We all know that if trees are cut down and forests removed, then this may affect the rainfall and might even convert a fertile area into a desert.

25 The highly industrialized countries of the world are now facing many problems both in the physical and psychological sphere of lack of adjustment of man to his environment. Too much bricks and mortar at the expense of green zones may produce consequences which are not good. Too much use of insecticides, and herbicides may destroy some insects which might often play some useful role in the economy of nature. Too much destruction of birds has led to the growth of harmful insects which the birds used to eat. The construction of great hydro-electric dams or railway embankments may change the drainage of the countryside and lead to floods.

26 I have mentioned just a few of the possible harmful effects of even something good that is done. There is a certain economy in nature gradually established through the ages. We should certainly change this for man's benefit. But in so doing we should take every care that the change does not lead to some other evil consequences also apart from the good that it is intended to do. Science today is

producing any number of experts and specialists who are very good at their own particular piece of work, but who are apt to forget other aspects and consequences of what they may do. The expert knowledge of a person in his own field may not be enough. This has to be checked by experts in other fields and the expert has sometimes to be saved from himself.

27 The destruction of rabbits in some countries, though welcomed by the farmers, has led to some unforeseen results and now the farmers want the rabbits back. Science today is advanced enough to be able to give us insights into all these aspects and to the possible consequences of any step that might be taken. But this can only be done by a pooling of knowledge.

28 We have many large-scale river valley projects which are carefully worked out by our engineers. I wonder, however, how much thought is given before the project is launched, to having an ecological survey of the area and to find out what the effect would be on the drainage system or to the flora and fauna of that area. It would be desirable to have such an ecological survey of these areas before the project is launched and thus to avoid an imbalance of nature.

29 In regard to Himalayan rivers which misbehave so often and cause floods, it has been suggested that there should be a study of glacier recession in the Himalayas to enable a better understanding of nature and the behaviour of these rivers.

30 There is an International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources with its headquarters in Brussels. This Union devotes itself to the encouragement of this larger outlook in regard to the conservation of flora and fauna and natural resources. I think it would be a good thing if we in India developed this outlook also.

Yours sincerely  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
3 September, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you rather unexpectedly today. I ought to have been in Kashmir.<sup>1</sup> Indeed I started early in the morning by air. When we reached near Pathankot, we were enveloped in clouds and visibility was almost nil. My pilot went high up to nearly 20,000 feet, but even this did not help him. As there were hills all round and in front, he did not think it wise to take a risk and turned back. We landed at Ambala and waited for the clouds to clear up. After an hour or two we made another attempt to go to Kashmir but were again frustrated. And so we came back to Delhi six hours after we had left.

2 I was going to Jammu and Kashmir at rather a short notice because of the terrible floods they have had there. From all accounts these floods have been on a much bigger scale than ever before. At one time the whole valley of Kashmir was practically one sheet of water. Large numbers of villages were swept away. Many bridges collapsed and the crops suffered great damage. Something of the same kind happened on the Jammu side also. The result is that both in Jammu and Kashmir, the Government and the people have to face a great disaster, and I wanted to go there as soon as possible to take a message of sympathy and help to the people there. Unfortunately I could not go today, but I hope to make another and a more successful attempt a few days later.

3 Floods have become a common occurrence in many

parts of India. Whether they are on a bigger scale than previously, I do not know. But one gets the impression that some basic climatic changes are taking place resulting in these frequent floods. In my last fortnightly letter to you I drew attention to the ecology of nature being often disturbed by man's works. We have built railways in the past without thinking of the effect of the embankments on the drainage system. Canal embankments also have interfered with the drainage and there are so many other things that we do without paying any attention to their effect on nature's economy and drainage. In future, I hope that whenever any such construction is made, the direct and indirect consequences will also be kept in mind and provided for.

4 The immediate reaction of the people to floods is to suggest that embankments and bunds should be built. These are undoubtedly necessary in many places, but every embankment or bund, while protecting one area, might lead to greater danger to another area. It is possible to protect selected areas or a city by bunds, but it appears too difficult to protect a whole countryside. Apart from these local protective works, it seems to me that attention should be paid to the rapid draining away of flood waters. We cannot stop these vast oceans of water which come down from the mountains, but we can so arrange that they are not allowed to collect too much and for too long.

5 There is another aspect of this question to which I drew attention on the last occasion and this is the possibility of a recession of the glaciers in the Himalayas, leading to the melting of the ice and an abundant quantity of water coming down from the mountains.

6 Our Parliament has been heavily engaged with the Finance Bill<sup>2</sup> and taxation measures. Both Houses have dealt with these subjects and while the burden has been heavy on every Member of Parliament, the load on the Finance Minister can well be imagined. He has been continuously engaged day after day and sometimes in two

2. The Bill was passed by Lok Sabha on 28 August 1957

Houses at the same time, in piloting these very difficult and exacting measures. The time actually taken in Parliament is only part of the labour involved. Select Committees and innumerable group meetings with M.P.s to explain to them the provisions of these measures and discuss amendments are much more exacting. It was inevitable that these rather novel measures should raise comment and criticism. No one likes taxation, much less novel forms of it. I believe that basically the approach now being made is a right one and the amendments accepted have improved the measures. We had to get out of the old ruts. Whatever the revenue-producing capacity of these taxes might be in the near future, it is some advantage to get out of the static conditions of the past and to move in a new and more promising direction. The Finance Minister is entitled to a tribute from us for the great ability, courage and energy with which he has conducted these measures during the past many weeks. He will have little rest, as he will be going soon<sup>3</sup> to the U.S.A., U.K., Canada and perhaps some other country also. That too will be work of a most exacting kind. He will carry our good wishes with him.

7 We have recently had a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Delhi.<sup>4</sup> In the main the discussions in this Committee related to the economic situation and more particularly the food problem.<sup>5</sup> Discussions in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha have also largely centred round these questions. It is right that this should be so, because we have to face these problems realistically and for that purpose there should be a wide understanding of them. I am convinced, as I have often said, that India's economy is basically sound, but it is also true at the same time that our potential wealth and resources may not be available to us

3. On 17 September 1957 He returned to India on 25 October 1957.

4. Held from 31 August to 2 September 1957.

5. At the discussions, marked by strong criticism of food administration the importance of implementing the plan in full was also emphasized. Special stress was laid on the need to effect land reforms and develop cooperatives.

when we want them and this creates great difficulties. We are facing these difficulties today.

8 The taxation policy pursued in a country is important. But that is only a part of the many things that affect the economy of the country. We all talk about production, and without that no progress can be made. But production itself depends not only on hard work, but on intelligent planning and a feeling of confidence. At the end of the first Five Year Plan, there was this feeling of confidence in our capacity to achieve what we had aimed at. Unfortunately, various factors have contributed lately to lessen this feeling of confidence. Many people and newspapers in foreign countries are constantly repeating that we have been too ambitious in our planning. Even in our own country, there are some who go on saying this, with the result that a feeling of doubt and depression is created. This lack of confidence in ourselves and in our resources is more harmful, perhaps, than anything else, and we have to combat it. I do not believe in a facile optimism, and we have to be realistic. But realism does not mean a defeatist attitude, more especially when there is no reason for this.

9 More and more, it has come to be realized that agricultural production, and more particularly food production, is the vital foundation for our growth and even for the spread of industry. Prices, of course, are an essential factor, and they depend more on the quantity produced and its proper management than any other factor.

10 There was some discussion at the A.I.C.C. meeting about cooperatives in general and especially cooperative farming. Everybody agrees, I take it, that the cooperative approach is essential for us in agriculture, as in other matters. With the development of higher techniques, there is an inevitable tendency towards centralization. The small machine gives place to the big machine, and the big one to a bigger one still. Whether in the governmental apparatus or in industry or elsewhere, there is this drift towards ever greater centralization which has certain evil consequences. The small shops give place to the great stores and then to

chain stores. Even newspapers develop in this way, and big chains of them are controlled by a single authority. That is the inevitable result of the growth of technology in a capitalist system. In a socialist system, the same trend occurs, with the major difference that the control is by the State. The evils of too much centralization are present, whether this takes place under private auspices or the State's, though, in the latter case, they might be mitigated to some extent. Undoubtedly, the centralization of power, whether political or economic, lessens the freedom of the individual.

11 We cannot do without centralization. And yet, we do not wish to be submerged by it. The only way out appears to be the spread of the cooperative method in industry and agriculture. In the governmental apparatus, it means also decentralizing many activities of the State although, inevitably, the Central Government in the modern State must be strong.

12 In the realm of industry, there will be State enterprises and cooperative enterprises. Even the State enterprises, if they are to function with efficiency and success, cannot be tied up too much to departmental methods of working. They must be given a good deal of latitude and room for initiative.

13 In agriculture, co-operation becomes inevitable. There might be some excuse for individual farms working separately provided these farms are big enough. But, where, in India, a vast number of our peasants have not more than an acre or two, it is not possible for them to make any progress or to take advantage of modern techniques. I am not referring to what might be called mechanization of agriculture. Broadly speaking, too much mechanization is not the remedy in a country of abundant manpower and small holdings. But there are numerous other techniques which can add to our production and which are quite beyond the resources of a small farmer. Under a cooperative system where a number of peasants band together for common purposes these techniques become available to them. It is admitted that in regard to numerous agricultural

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services, cooperative methods should be introduced. There is some argument, however, about cooperative farming.

14. This argument is rather premature in India at present, because we have not even fully taken the preliminary steps towards cooperative working. Our first concern must, therefore, be to build up multi-purpose cooperatives, apart from joint farming, and make them a success. It is only later that the question of joint farming arises. We cannot impose anything on our peasantry, and we can only introduce these changes by their willing consent. That willing consent will only be forthcoming when they see the results of a particular method of working. If that method yields good results, then I have no doubt the farmer will adopt it.

15. Personally, I think that joint farming is desirable and necessary, in order to yield the best results. I am not thinking of vast farms, but rather of the people of a village joining together for this purpose. My conception of a cooperative is of an organization where people know each other and have a sense of kinship.

16. There are two cases, however, where it should be possible to have joint farming right at the beginning. This is where new land is reclaimed by the State, and it is open to the State to settle it in any manner it chooses. The second is in the case of Vinobaji's Gramdan. Cooperative farming could be tried there and results examined. If this succeeds there, then there will be no difficulty in spreading it elsewhere. In other areas, however, we must concentrate on the multi-purpose cooperative, which need not include joint farming.

17. Co-operation is not merely some kind of a business partnership or a means of obtaining credit. It is something much deeper than that, and involves a certain philosophy of life which we wish to encourage. It is only through this cooperative method that we shall raise the level of the peasantry even in cultural and like matters. The narrow parochial outlook, so much associated with the peasant, does not suit the new society that is growing up everywhere.

18. The situation in Western Asia and more especially in

Syria, is a serious one.<sup>6</sup> It is not quite clear what is happening behind the surface of events. But, all kinds of pressures are apparently being exercised, and there is danger of trouble.

19 I have recently spoken in the Lok Sabha in a debate on Foreign Affairs. I shall not repeat here what I said then. I would, however, like to draw your attention to what I said there, more especially in regard to Kashmir,<sup>7</sup> Syria<sup>8</sup> and Hungary.<sup>9</sup> The Kashmir issue is likely to come up before the Security Council before long.<sup>10</sup>

20. We are having a number of Ministers from foreign countries visiting Delhi in the next few days. They are

6. On 13 August the Syrian Government announced that it had uncovered a plot, backed by the United States, to overthrow the Government. The United States reported that this was a "smokescreen" behind which left-wing groups were trying to build up their power. Moscow also criticized the United States of employing crude tactics to overthrow the Syrian Government.

7. Nehru told Lok Sabha on 2 September that "one fact stands out clearly amidst confusion which is that Pakistan had committed aggression against the state and there is no justification for her continued stay there." In these circumstances, he added, he could not imagine the U.N. asking India to do something which "no self-respecting country can do—tolerate or submit to aggression."

8. Nehru stated that unstable conditions had been created in Syria because of the interference of big Powers in their attempt to gain influence and power over various parts of Asia and Africa. He said the moves and counter-moves on the part of the contending Powers had caused the situation "never too good, to progressively deteriorate in the last two years or so."

9. He said that India viewed the uprising in Hungary as "essentially nationalist in character" and demanded withdrawal of foreign troops leaving the people to fashion their own destiny. But mere condemnation could increase tension and India therefore hoped that Hungarian Government would work towards normalization of the situation by releasing these detenus.

10. The Jarring Report was debated in the Security Council on 25 September 1957

coming back from Malaya where they had gone to participate in the independence celebrations.<sup>11</sup>

21. Perhaps, you know that in the United States of America, students often undertake some gainful work, manual or other, even while they are studying in colleges. A student who can earn money in this way for his fees and upkeep is admired there. In some other countries also students are encouraged to do this. In India, in spite of all that we have said, manual labour is still rather looked down upon, although this attitude is gradually changing. I think that our colleges and universities should offer every opportunity to the students to do some manual constructive work on payment. I am not suggesting any compulsion about it. But the opportunity should be given. This would result not only in a number of students earning some money, but also in buildings being put up by spare time work. It would be necessary, of course, in such cases to provide adequate expert guidance.

22. In the Roorkee Engineering University in the U.P., arrangements have been made for students to earn some money by part-time work in their spare time. I think this is an excellent idea. Apart from other advantages, the mere fact of constructing something with their own hands and labour gives a feeling of psychological satisfaction.

23. Recently there has been some trouble in Rajasthan among the students.<sup>12</sup> This was said to be in protest against the enhancement of fees. I know nothing about the merits of this question, but I was astonished and distressed at the manner some students behaved under the instigation of some outside elements. They tried to set fire to buildings, to destroy furniture, books, etc. If our political parties encourage this kind of behaviour among the students or

11. Malaya became independent on the midnight of 30 August 1957

12. The agitation took a violent turn on 29, 30 July and 2 August at Jaipur, on 3 August at Alwar, and on 6 August at Jodhpur. The agitation was called off on 19 August after the State Government announced certain fee concessions.

indeed anywhere in order to gain some political advantage, when indeed the outlook is pretty dark. It is time that every decent person raised this voice against his degradation of our young people.

24 I should like to add that our army worked magnificently during the floods in Jammu and Kashmir. It was largely because of their efforts that the city of Srinagar escaped disaster.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi  
5 September, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

Recently at the meeting of the A.I.C.C.<sup>1</sup> there were long discussions on the land problem. Many of you must have participated in them. I am not for the present referring to various aspects of this problem, important as they are. But it seems to me that something of the most important significance and importance is to prevent ejection of tenants. Information comes to me from time to time about this ejection continuing in various States and sometimes this is on a fairly large scale. In fact, the very measures of land reform that are initiated sometimes lead to this type of ejection.

I think that each State must deal with this matter urgently and effectively. If the law is lacking, then something should be done forthwith to rectify it. But apart from the law, it is the administrative set-up that can deal with this matter effectively if it chooses to do so. My own impression is that District Magistrates and others are lax in this respect. I am sure they could do a great deal if they were told of the vital importance of preventing evictions.

5 September 1957

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The Congress President<sup>2</sup> has drawn my particular attention to this matter. I feel as strongly as he does on this subject. I earnestly hope that you will take measures to stop all kinds of ejectment of tenants immediately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
25 September, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

Today, I met a Naga deputation<sup>1</sup> which came to me to present a resolution<sup>2</sup> passed by a Convention of the Naga tribes, which was held about a month ago in Kohima. I am glad to say that our meeting was a successful one,<sup>3</sup> and I look forward to a cessation of the hostilities in the Naga areas which had distressed us so much during the past year and a half. A press statement about our interview will appear in tomorrow's papers and you will no doubt see it.

2 This Naga trouble has distressed me greatly, not because of its military significance, but because some of our countrymen were rebelling and we had to face this difficult situation. We could not deal with them as the British Government used to deal with rebellious people on the frontier or elsewhere, by bombing them. That is an easy but not a very human way of dealing with trouble, and we issued strict orders that there should be no bombing from the air of any kind. Our Army has had a difficult time because the terrain is wild forest land in the hills, with practically no

1. On 25 and 26 September 1957.

2. The Convention of representative Nagas which met from 22 to 26 August decided that the demand for independence be given up formally and empowered a delegation to meet the Assam Governor "with a view to arriving at a satisfactory political settlement by remaining within the Indian Union".

3. The Government accepted the demand of the Nagas for the formation of a single administrative unit and agreed to conditional amnesty in respect of all offences committed in the past but not for any offences committed in the future.

communications. It is easy for any individual or group to carry on some kind of guerilla activities or to indulge in sniping or loot and then disappear into the forest. The Nagas, of course, are expert in forest lore and are tough people. I have always liked them, and those who have joined our Army make excellent soldiers. They have a fine sense of discipline.

3 During British times, there was some kind of an iron curtain round their areas, and people from the rest of India were not permitted to go there. Only some missionaries went, and they inculcated among the Nagas a hatred of the people of India. Some of the Nagas were converted to Christianity and were educated to some extent. Because of their education, they became the leaders of the Nagas. One of the last acts of the British officials before independence was to encourage these Nagas to claim independence.

4 The Nagas are really not one tribe, but many tribes, and they have numerous dialects. In fact, the dialect changes every few miles and it is difficult sometimes for one Naga to understand another. Some kind of corrupted Assamese has become the lingua franca among these Nagas. Soon after independence, Zapu Phizo<sup>4</sup> emerged, and gradually he built up his position and began to be recognized as some kind of a leader. He had a curious career and is said to have been associated with Netaji Subhas Bose, though I do not know to what extent. During the past few years, I have met him twice, and he produced a very bad impression upon me. I told him then, and I have repeated it often, that the demand for independence was out of the question. But we were always prepared to consider anything else, even though this might involve some change in the Sixth Schedule of our Constitution. Our general policy was not to interfere with tribal people and to give them the largest measure of autonomy. For some years, the Naga movement was more or less peaceful. But, gradually, it drifted towards violence. Phizo achieved for the first time some measure of unity among

<sup>4</sup> For b fn. see Vol 3 p 156.

these various Naga tribes. Some two years ago, a tribal Convention decided on a struggle for independence, and this led to organized violence of the guerilla type.

5 We have been dealing with this situation for the last year and a half or more and, from a military point of view, have largely succeeded. But it was very difficult to deal with individual incidents. Meanwhile, the Naga people as a whole suffered very greatly. On the one hand, they were terrorized by the hostile groups and punished if they did not fall into line. They had to give money and food and, on their refusal, their villages were burnt down and individuals were executed. On the other hand, the operations of our Army inevitably bore down heavily upon them. Our difficulty was to protect these people as we wanted to. It was not possible to protect every village from these depredations. Ultimately, it was decided to regroup the villages, so that we could give adequate protection to these new groups. This involved a good deal of inconvenience to the people, but it certainly gave them protection. This step led, to a large extent, to the isolation of the hostiles, and their morale began to suffer. Probably, it was mainly this step which induced most of the Nagas to decide to seek a settlement. Last month, a big Convention was held at Kohima in the Naga Hills District with the permission of the Assam Government. At this Convention every tribe sent its representatives, which totalled about 1,760, apart from about two thousand Naga visitors. For several days they argued heatedly. Ultimately it was clear that the majority wanted to pass a certain type of resolution. There is a custom among the Nagas that once the majority is known, then the particular resolution is passed unanimously and becomes binding on all the tribes. A good custom, which incidentally shows the discipline of these people.

6 The resolution was to the effect that the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the NEFA should be constituted into a single administrative unit under the Centre that is the Governor would act as an agent of the President and under the general directions of the Externa

Affairs Ministry. It was also stated that this would be within the Union of India, that is, the demand for independence was clearly given up. It was this resolution that was presented to me by the delegation that saw me today. We had considered this matter carefully before I saw the delegation and we had consulted the Chief Minister of Assam<sup>5</sup> also. The step we took, therefore, was with full consultation of all concerned. I told the delegation that I was glad that they had given up the demand for independence and had given us assurances to work earnestly to bring about peace and order in the disturbed areas. In the circumstances, therefore, I accepted the proposal on behalf of the Government of India and agreed to have the necessary amendment made in the Constitution during the next session of Parliament. I also agreed to an amnesty for all offences against the State and told them that the regrouping of villages would be stopped in future. Further, that as conditions improved in any area and were considered satisfactory by us, we would degroup the villages in that area. The delegation was happy at the outcome of our talks.

7 This is certainly a great step forward in this matter and brings peace in the disturbed Naga areas within our grasp. But there are still many hurdles on the way and it is possible that a small hard core element among the hostiles will continue to give trouble. Phizo himself, we are told, continues to be bitter and angry and curses the Nagas who went to the Convention or who approached us. I believe that Phizo is somewhat demented now. He is half-paralysed and has to be carried about. I do not think that his voice will carry much weight now and I am sure the great majority of the Nagas will stand by the decision of their Convention. But some trouble may well still continue.

8 In my previous letters, I have referred to the critical situation in Syria and the Middle Eastern countries. The crisis appears to have been warded off and there is a little less of rattling of arms on both sides. American policy in regard

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to Syria has not met with success and it is said that it has met with a diplomatic reverse. This whole policy, based on the so-called Eisenhower doctrine,<sup>6</sup> was unrealistic and has shown up the weakness of this doctrine. The whole purpose of this policy apparently was to keep out the Soviet Union from this Middle Eastern area. As a matter of fact, it has actually led to the Soviet pushing itself in a little more. It is quite absurd for anyone to say that Syria has become Communist. All these Middle Eastern countries are far away from communism as anything can be. What has really happened is the play of Great Power conflicts in Syria and round about countries. In Jordan, some time ago, American arms and policies prevailed. In Syria, Soviet arms and policies prevailed. There is, however, a major difference between the two. American and British policies are largely based on supporting feudal regimes in these areas and have little popular backing there. The Soviet Union can take advantage of this fact and thus can influence the people more and appear to be in favour of the nationalist elements there. Also, the Soviet Union happens to be next door, while the United States is far away.

9 The only obvious solution of these conflicts is for both these Great Powers as well as others to keep away from this area and to leave the countries concerned to work out their own destiny.

10 We have had more floods and there is of course the unhappiness caused by high prices, especially in regard to food. In Calcutta there have been big demonstrations and a bank strike<sup>7</sup> has also been going on for some days. Perhaps the strike will soon be over as the matter has been referred to a tribunal. It is interesting to note, however, that even in Calcutta, food prices have gone down, partly as a result of

6. See *ante*, p. 475.

7. The strike launched on 18 September by about 800 employees of private banks in Calcutta and industrial areas to demand compensation for rise in prices of essential commodities in West Bengal was called off on 18 October.

the West Bengal Government's action in seizing hoarded foodgrains.

11. In effect, there has been a general decline in prices of all food articles, including cereals, pulses, edible oils, sugar and *gur*, all over India. Last year, that is, between the first week of August and first week of September in 1956, there was a rise of 1.6 per cent in the prices of all commodities. This year, for the corresponding period, there has been a fall of 2.7 per cent. This is mainly due to the fall in the prices of agricultural produce by 3.7 per cent. This is a happy omen and it shows that the action taken by Government has borne result.

12. As you know, our Finance Minister is now in the United States.<sup>8</sup> He will also visit Canada, England and West Germany. He is endeavouring to raise large loans or credits, which should be of great help to us in carrying through our second Five Year Plan. Whether he will succeed or not I do not know. In either event we must realize that we have to depend chiefly on ourselves and any impression that we must finally depend upon others will be harmful.

13. I might mention here that a distorted account of what the Finance Minister is reported to have said rather casually to an American correspondent<sup>9</sup> before he left India has given rise to a good deal of doubt and questioning. There need be no doubt about our basic policies, whether political or economic. They remain and must remain as before. In the political domain, we shall continue to be unaligned to any group of Powers, in the economic domain, we shall gladly accept help in the shape of credits or loans from abroad, but this cannot be allowed to affect our broad policy and our reliance on ourselves.

8. See *ante*, p. 547.

9. T.T. Krishnamachari was said to have told A.M. Rosenthal, the *New York Times* correspondent, that "the battle in India was a battle against communism too and that one of the reasons Kerala was lost to Communists was that enough money could not be spent on activities of the State."

14 I have recently been to Mysore<sup>10</sup> to attend the Gramdan Conference convened by the Sarva Seva Sangh at the instance of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.<sup>11</sup> This was an unusual type of conference as various parties were represented there in addition to those who had been working especially for Gramdan under Vinobaji's leadership. You must have seen the statement issued after the Conference<sup>12</sup> I am convinced that Vinobaji's movement has great potentialities for good, both directly and indirectly in other spheres. It must be remembered that it is based essentially on a peaceful and non-violent approach to this and other problems. Even the agreement on this approach by all the parties represented there was all to the good. I hope that we shall all try to help and encourage in every way this Gramdan movement, keeping in mind always the basic approach behind it.

15 In the Ramnad District of Madras, conflicts between different castes created a serious situation for some days<sup>13</sup> These conflicts were described as communal. In effect they were due to the opposition of some higher castes to the claim of the Harijans for some measure of equality and more humane treatment. Deplorable as this conflict was, it does bring out the changes that are taking place in the old order. It represents an attempt to find a new equilibrium in the social set-up. The Thevars who had been dominant in that region resented this change and hit out at the Harijans. The Harijans, however, were no longer prepared to submit to the

10 From 20 to 23 September 1957.

11 For b fn see Vol. 2, p. 397.

12. The statement issued on 22 September expressed its high appreciation of Vinoba's mission and his efforts to solve national and social problems by non-violent and cooperative methods and appealed to all sections of the Indian people to support enthusiastically the Gramdan movement as land reforms initiated by the Government were not in conflict with Gramdan movement and the Gramdan and community development movements should complement each other

13 The clashes between Thevars and the Harijans occurred for 11 days from 14 September 1957 in Ra      thap      Ramnad) District.

domination of the higher castes and so the conflict. It was the duty of the State to prevent conflict but their sympathies were naturally with the Harijans in their demand for better treatment and equality.

16. The United Nations' General Assembly has started its sessions in New York. At the same time, the Security Council has been considering the Kashmir question, where, as usual, the Pakistan Foreign Minister<sup>14</sup> gave expression to an assortment of falsehoods.<sup>15</sup> No doubt these will be dealt with by our Representative when the time comes for his reply. At The Hague, in Holland, the case of Portugal versus India has also begun and our Attorney-General<sup>16</sup> placed India's case before the International Court.<sup>17</sup> His speech, we are told, created a powerful impression.

17. I intend going to Japan on the 3rd October and to spend about nine days there. On my way back, I shall spend two days in Hong Kong and a day in Rangoon

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Feroz Khan Noon (1893-1970). Member, Vicetoy's Executive Council, 1942-45; Pakistan's Foreign Minister, 1956-58, Prime Minister, 1957-58

15. Referring to Jarring's proposals Noon said on 24 September that changes "if any, in occupied Kashmir are creations of India herself," and that "India surely cannot plead the length of her aggressive stay in Kashmir as an excuse for not honouring her international agreement."

16. M.C. Setalvad (1884-1974) Advocate-General, Bombay, 1937-42; Attorney-General of India, 1956-62; Chairman, Law Commission, 1955-58, Member, Rajya Sabha, 1966-72.

17. On 24 September 1957, the Attorney-General of India explained to the Court India's objections to the Portuguese demand of a right of passage across the Indian territory for their officials including armed forces

Before I return to India, I am noting down some impressions of my visit to Japan,<sup>1</sup> as these might interest my colleagues I am doing so during my brief stay in Hong Kong. The fact that rain and cloudy weather has come in the way of my programme in Hong Kong and confined me to my house, has made it easier for me to dictate these notes.

2. The nine days we spent in Japan were very full and were crowded with impressions. I am not dealing here directly with political or economic matters but rather with other impressions of Japanese life. I went to Japan with some knowledge of the people and the country derived from reading and meeting people. I knew something of its history and of course we all knew about recent events which had powerfully affected the Japanese people. Some of my previous impressions I had have to change as a result of closer acquaintance. What I note down here is only a jumble of ideas and impressions and should be read as such.

3. We received an extraordinarily warm welcome wherever we went in Japan. The Government helped in every way in this and had organized my programme. In addition, some kind of a reception committee was formed in Tokyo consisting of various parties, including parties in the Opposition, like the Socialist and the Communists, as well as many other organizations. Apart from governmental people, I met some leading intellectuals.

4. What impressed me most however was the exuberance of the popular welcome. I have had the good fortune to receive welcomes in many countries. I think it would be correct to say that, outside India, nowhere have I received such a big

and spontaneous welcome as in Japan. The only other place which I can think of in this connection is part of Central Asia, more especially Tashkent and Samarkand.

5 Students, both boys and girls, were particularly in evidence in the large gatherings in the streets. I was surprised to see the numbers of these students. They stood out because they wear some kind of uniform and therefore did not merge with the others. I think I must have seen many hundreds of thousands of students in this way. They were students of all ages and grades, from the University, from senior schools and elementary schools, and sometimes even from the kindergarten. It struck me that when compulsory education is fully introduced in a country, what a large proportion of its population go to various educational establishments. I enquired about the figure for the number of students in Japan, and the following information, as on 1 May 1957, was officially supplied to me.

	Primary School	Middle School	High School	University
Male	6,609,351	2,896,241	1,621,718	521,991
Female	6,346,934	2,821,942	1,275,931	115,600
Total	12,956,285	5,718,183	2,897,649	637,591

This totals to 22,209,708. The total population of Japan at present is just over ninety millions. The number of students thus works out nearly at a quarter of the population.

6. Compulsory education begins from six to seven years of age. For six years there is elementary education and for three years some form of junior secondary education. All this is compulsory, that is, there is nine years of compulsory education. After that, there is no compulsion but anyone wanting to go to a University has to pass through another three years of senior or higher secondary education. While primary schools are almost entirely State run there are

many private secondary schools. The Universities are both private and State. Indeed many of the private Universities are of old standing and repute. Apparently every major college is a University. Thus, in Tokyo city there are about twenty-six Universities. I visited two old private Universities of great repute as well as the National State University. Each one of these had about thirty thousand students on its rolls.

7. I was told that uniforms were introduced in schools and colleges long ago, in fact, as a part almost of compulsory education in the Meiji era. The idea was to bring about a feeling of equality among the students, so that the children of richer people should not feel superior. As I have said above, practically everyone, rich or poor, goes to the same type of school. They have the same education. They wore the same uniforms and all of them, in these primary schools, get a free meal in the middle of the day. It seemed to me that this must have a powerful influence in bringing about a certain feeling of equality and fellowship. I feel sure that so long as we have special schools for the children of the well-to-do classes, there will always be a difference, both psychologically and practically, in their upbringing, and it is only when the same quality of teaching and other conditions are provided for all children that we will raise the very poor standard of our primary schools.

8. I motored through hundreds of miles of country roads. I must have passed by hundreds of huge motor buses carrying school children or college students on excursions. Probably this was because October is specially a month for excursions for students. Nevertheless, I was surprised to see these tens of thousands of students visiting famous places in Japan for their scenic beauty or historical interest. I was told that the students paid for these excursions and they saved money throughout the year so as to participate in them.

9. I have mentioned the fact that all these students wore a kind of uniform. This is, in the case of boys, black trousers and buttoned-up coats, cotton in summer and probably some warm material in winter. The cap varies with the school and there is some marking on the shoulder to indicate

the school. The uniform is not particularly attractive and rather resembles that of a Railway Guard in India. So far as girls are concerned, they wore skirts and a short coat. Even the kindergarten children were often in some kind of uniform clothing. It struck me how a uniform helps not only in encouraging discipline but also a fellow-feeling. It would be a good thing if we could introduce some kind of uniform in our own schools and colleges. In course of time I hope that we shall be able to give a free meal a day to every student of an elementary school. If we did this, we would give some relief to the parents and at the same time help in building up the children.

10. The idea came to me that we might make a beginning of this kind in some of the schools which we have started for the children of the employees in State industrial concerns. Thus, at Sindri, we have built up an amenities fund, but we are told that as every amenity is provided for, the fund is not being used. Why should not the children in the schools there be given uniforms and a mid-day meal? In this connection, I might add that factory workers generally in Japan also appear to have some kind of suitable uniform. This is obviously necessary in factories for efficiency of working and for avoidance of danger. Loose clothing, whether for men or women, should not be allowed in a factory. I hope that we shall gradually introduce this among our factory workers.

11. In dealing with this question of students and others, I have rather gone off the main track. My previous idea of the Japanese was of an able, hardworking and serious-minded people, rather dour and not given to too much smiling, heavily disciplined, and blindly obedient to superior commands. I found them somewhat different. They were quite jolly, especially the young folk, and easily given to laughter. I suppose there has been a marked change in them since the breakdown of the old imperial regime. They have adopted, in the big cities especially, many external symbols of the American way of life including the language and dress. They continue to be as ever amazingly

courteous and polite. Indeed, their whole culture revolves round an exaggerated courtesy which is very pleasing, though sometimes it may be overdone.

12 I have referred to language above. The Japanese are not good linguists. They have made English compulsory now for the second language. What interested us was the odd fact that long before the English language is taught, the Latin alphabet is taught to the children. This is supposed to be a kind of step towards learning English later on. The Japanese language has become a curious mixture of the ideographs which they have derived from China and some kind of alphabet. It is a very difficult language for the typewriter.

13 We knew all about the great development of the Japanese industry. The way the Japanese had converted Manchuria in the space of thirteen years into an intensively developed industrial area had often been cited as an example of rapid progress. I expected therefore a very developed industry. On the whole, I felt that the actuality exceeded my anticipation. We must remember of course that the Japanese have been at it more or less for seventy or eighty years.

14. The Japanese have many qualities which are notable. I have referred to their extreme courtesy. They are hard-working and disciplined, and they carry punctuality to an extreme. My programme was a heavy one, but every attempt was made to stick to it to the minute. I was then even hustled in finishing a meal so as not to be delayed by a minute or two. They take pride in their railway trains running on split-second schedules. But there are two abiding impressions which remain with us about the Japanese. One is their vitality and the other is their extreme artistry and aesthetic sense.

15 I was constantly surprised and delighted to notice this aesthetic sense of theirs and their amazing capacity to bring about harmonious arrangement of flowers or furniture or pictures or indeed of a whole garden. Their sense of harmonizing colours is remarkable. So also the way they make a few things go a long way. I was happy to see no

display of gold or silver anywhere in Japan as, to our misfortune, we often see in India. If there was wealth, it has shown itself in artistic ways of beautiful porcelain or lacquer-work. Even so there was never too much of it. From our standards, a room was very bare with very little furniture, very few pictures, even few flowers. There might just be a picture scroll on the walls, a single flower and the room looked perfect in its simplicity and artistic completeness. It was astonishing how small things were made to go a long way. A few small pebbles would be used to decorate a table. They would surround possibly a beautiful vase or lacquer bowl and set it off.

16. I do not know how and why the Japanese developed their ideas of miniature gardens and other things done on a relatively small scale. Their houses are the simplest possible with moving screens instead of walls with no chairs or tables except sometimes some low table. The floor has a padded mattress. There is usually a slightly raised alcove where there would be a painted scroll on the wall and a flower or two in front of it. Shoes are not worn inside a house. They are left right outside. People may wear however special slippers which are provided for the house. The idea is to keep the house entirely free from dust and clean. Cleanliness and daintiness are evident everywhere. In the temples of course and even in Japanese inns and hotels shoes are left outside the building (not merely the room). This too is done methodically and there were several-tiered wooden racks for these discarded shoes to be kept. We might learn from this and not make a mess by piling up shoes outside a room as we do, often losing them in the process.

17. The Japanese Tea Room is famous. Indeed it is meant to symbolize Japanese ways of life—simplicity, extreme courtesy and quiet converse about the beauty of flowers and poetry, etc. The Japanese are nature lovers and nothing pleases them so much as a pleasant outlook of a garden with a pond and water flowing. The old tea ceremony is a highly complicated affair, as far removed from the rush and hurry of modern life as anything can be. The mere drinking of it is

a minor element in it. It is the way things are done. An odd feature of the tea room is the entrance to it which is very low, about three and a half feet high. The idea is that a person should enter it with due humility and serenity and not in an excited frame of mind.

18 Japanese landscape gardens are famous and the more I saw them the more charmed I was with them. I saw big gardens built by the Emperors and tiny ones at the back of houses. It was extraordinary how a very small patch of land behind a house or a shop and in the heart of a city, was converted into a secluded and beautiful corner quite cut off from the city. The whole conception was totally opposed to our New Delhi idea of gardens with flat broad lawns soaked with water. Their ups and downs and mysterious turns and corners give an idea of space even in that very limited area. There would be a small pool and possibly a little wooden bridge and a golden fish in the pool. Trees would be trained in a particular way and sometimes dwarfed. I wish very much that we could learn something of this type of gardening and get rid of our present idea of flatness which seems to possess the minds of those in charge of our gardens in New Delhi. It is far more attractive to have ups and downs and even mounds of earth or stones sticking out. Indeed, the Japanese pay particular attention to stones. I am told that their idea is that a garden on the analogy of a human being, should have stones as the bone structure, flowing water as the blood stream and the trees and foliage as the flesh. Even when they have to dig to provide earth for some object, they do so with some sense of artistry leaving a big mound somewhere in the middle which is then made part of the landscape with foliage, etc.

19 Conditions in India are different and we cannot reproduce Japanese landscape gardening on any large scale. But I do think that we can learn much from it about the utilization of space and having instead of flat lawns all over something of greater variety. It struck me specially that in the memorial we are setting up for the Buddha Jayanti on the Ridge we might make an attempt to have a Japanese

landscape garden round about the memorial. That is particularly suited because of the presence of plenty of rocks there. Our gardeners dislike these rocks and would probably want to remove them. The Japanese method would be to leave them where they are and utilize them.

20 I think also that a corner in our zoological gardens in New Delhi might well be converted into a Japanese garden. It would be worthwhile to get a Japanese landscape gardener to come to India for both these purposes as well as perhaps to advise us in other matters also. I have mentioned this to our Ambassador in Tokyo and told him to try to find out a suitable person.

21. In regard to children going to schools, I might mention here that they are all supposed to go to the schools in their particular area. This means that they have to go short distances and they walk to it. The question of transport and long-distance conveyance does not arise. This also means a school should be situated so as to be easily accessible to children in an area.

22. I had an idea, which turned out to be quite wrong, that Japanese food was not very appetising. My first experience in a Japanese restaurant gave me an entirely different impression. The meal we had was not only very tasty but delightfully served. As in other matters, a great deal of attention was paid to the manner of serving the food. We sat on the floor on cushions with a low table in front which was simply and artistically decorated. The plates and cups were of porcelain or lacquer. Even the colours were carefully chosen so as not to conflict with the colour of the food. Indeed the arrangement of food itself was thought out to avoid a clash of colour. We ate with Japanese chopsticks which are used only once and then thrown away. Japanese girls in their old Kimono costumes served us daintily, quietly and efficiently. The furniture of the room was exceedingly simple with a painted scroll in the alcove and a few flowers before it. At another end of the room some kind of entertainment took place throughout the meal—Japanese music dancing and jugglery Altogether it was a very

pleasant and soothing experience. On another occasion, in another place we were provided with separate low tables, the top being rather like a *thali* but in fine lacquer-work. Everywhere there was the attempt to create a harmony of colour.

23 Of the cities, Tokyo is a huge sprawling mass of small structures, either single-storeyed or double-storeyed. The business centre however has big modern buildings. There are huge Department Stores in all the big cities and these are supposed to be as good, if not better, than any Department Stores in other countries, including the United States. What attracted me however even more were the small shops. I only saw them from the outside. But they were all attractively arranged and inviting and neat and dainty-looking. These shops are on a level with the pavement and open out fully, so that they appear to be almost an extension of the street on both sides. The result is that they give a decorative look to the street which is added by the streamers and signs in Japanese characters. While these shops are brilliantly lit, the municipal lighting is very poor. The result is that the shopping district is bright and in some places a blaze of colour. Other streets are rather dark. Of all the cities, Kyoto, the old capital of Japan before Tokyo, attracted me most. It was a little quieter than Tokyo or Osaka, which are great industrial cities, and it had an air of old charm. Of the small towns, Nara, an even older capital was very attractive.

24 Most of the houses are made of wood and single-storeyed or at most double-storeyed. Partly this is due to the fear of earthquakes. The big heavy concrete structures however are multi-storeyed and are supposed to be strong enough to withstand earthquakes.

25. The roads in Japan were generally not very good. I was surprised to find that the drainage system also was not good. The central parts of Tokyo and other big cities had a proper drainage system. For the rest there were open drains. I do not know the reason for this except for the fact that the Japanese, like the Chinese, make full use of the night soil. Thus, the municipalities do not spend too much money on lighting or

drainage or even on roads and yet municipal taxation is said to be very heavy and the revenues of the big cities are very considerable. I was told that most of their expenditure goes towards providing services for the people and especially for the children. Education with free meals is a heavy item of expenditure. Also there are all kinds of amenities for the people. I might mention that nowhere in Japan, whether in city or countryside, did I see a barefooted person, man, woman or child. Generally they were well clad.

26 There are far more cameramen in Japan than anywhere in the world. In fact there are swarms of them. Press cameramen are present in large numbers everywhere. But apart from them, there are innumerable others with cameras.

27. I motored for hundreds of miles through the countryside and saw the rice fields on both sides of the road, often coming right up to the road or within six feet or so of the railway line. There was obviously a bumper crop. This was the third year running of a good crop and naturally both the Government and the people were very happy about it. I visited some farm houses. They were naturally selected and might not be considered to represent the normal farm house. One of these consisted of a farm of three and a half acres with one cow, there were some agricultural implements; and four members of the family. Income, I was told, was equivalent to £ 400/- per annum. There was a radio and an electric washing machine. The second farm consisted of eleven acres and belonged to an old landlord family who had been allowed to keep more land. Normally the holding is four acres after the land reform. This eleven acre plot had a good deal of agricultural machinery, three cows and poultry, radio, etc. and seven members of the family. Income about £ 1700/- per annum. The houses were neat and clean of the old Japanese style with no chairs, etc. The income figures are surprisingly high. They were given by the farmers themselves.

28 At Nara we saw a fine bronze statue of the Buddha. This was the biggest in Japan. There is a smaller but more famous

statue at Kamakura. We were told that when this statue was inaugurated many hundreds of years ago, India was represented by a learned monk, Bodhisena.

29 We visited a small museum containing some old treasures, manuscripts, scrolls, etc. This was lodged in a wooden building, kept scrupulously clean. We had to take off our shoes so that no dust might go in. Very special steps were taken to protect this from fire and there were thermometers to measure the humidity of the rooms.

30 One of the things I noticed was a three-wheel truck. The streets were full of these trucks of Japanese manufacture. They were of half-ton and of one-ton. I was told that there were some of two-tons also. I learnt that the coming of these three-wheel trucks had brought about a small revolution in transport in Japan. They were cheaper, very easy to manoeuvre and could go into narrow roads. It struck me that such three-wheeled trucks would be very useful for us in India and we may well think of manufacturing them. The big heavy four-wheel trucks are no doubt necessary for us, but for innumerable small purposes, the three-wheeled trucks might be much more useful.

31 I visited a big ship-building yard at Kobe. They make ships of all sizes, big and small, there. We are putting up these ship-building yards in India and launching biggish ships. I thought that it would be a good thing if we took up the manufacture of small ships or launches useful for inland waters as well as coastal trade, something from 500 tons to 1,000 tons. Also motor boats. There were the most delightful tiny motor boats dashing about the sea. I was told they were very cheap.

32 It is well known that Japanese cultivation is intensive and is terraced. These terraced fields indicated how every bit of land is utilized. What is more it added to the beauty of the scene.

33 The broad impression left upon me of Japan was of the capacity of the Japanese people to make use of the little things and make small things go far. They developed their industry towards the end of the 19th century and later tried to

adapt it to conditions in Japan as they were, that is, they did not copy expensive European or American models, but tried to adapt them. The result was, not only in industry but in administration, that they did everything on a less expensive scale. In India we tried to reproduce European models in administration and industry which were very expensive and far removed from Indian conditions of life. A huge gap was created between the two and this subsists still. Japanese living conditions have of course gone up considerably during the past two or three generations, but the rise has been general. There are rich people still. But I suppose the difference between the rich and poor is much less than in India. Since the war this difference has become still less. I was told of many rich people parting with their big houses or renting them out because they could not afford to keep them.

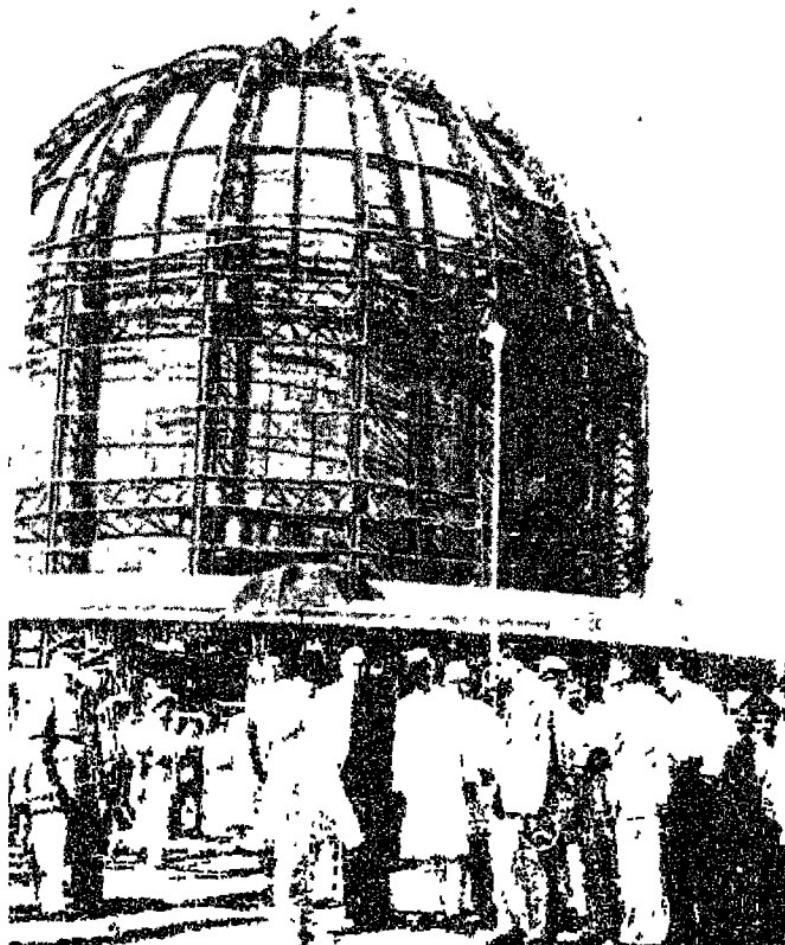
34. What was the significance, I often wondered, of this very warm welcome that the Japanese people gave me. The personal element in it was not very great. To say that it showed an appreciation of India would also not be an adequate explanation. But I do think that it represented a broad reaction to India's foreign policy of peace and friendship. I have had this sensation in other countries also. Whatever Governments may say or do, it is heartening to find these reactions among the common people of various countries. Because of this, I became for the moment a symbol of that policy and was acclaimed as such.

35. Also in Japan there appeared to me a tendency to look a little more towards Asia. In the last half century and more, Japan's general attitude has been of some contempt for Asian countries. It considered itself as belonging to the superior European or American species. It is true that they talked of Asia or of co-prosperity in Asia, but there was no friendly or comradely intent in that. Asia for them was a continent to spread their influence and their economic domain.

36. During the last fifteen years or so the Japanese people have experienced the height of victory and the depth of

defeat. The defeat has been even more significant and painful for them because it is apparently the first defeat in their long history. From a proud people looking down upon the world and considering themselves unconquerable, they became a conquered and occupied country. They suffered, but their discipline held and their pride prevented them from even exhibiting their suffering. They did not complain. They appeared even to submit voluntarily to many a humiliation. But behind it all, they were building themselves up again recovering their strength and independence, and, perhaps, waiting for the day when they were strong and independent enough to take the action of their choice. They have gone far in their direction and have made economic progress and have recently even become a member of the Security Council of the U.N.<sup>2</sup> It is true that American forces still remain in Japan and that the Japanese Government are anxious not to come in conflict with the United States in any way. They want to increase their economic strength and build up their industries still further.

37. In 1949, I think, at the request of some Japanese children, I sent an elephant from India to the Tokyo Zoo. I visited this Zoo and in the course of an address to me made there, it was said that the coming of this elephant was almost a psychological turning point in the lives not only of the children but of the people of Tokyo and Japan. Till then they were desolate, suffering all the humiliation of the war. They had forgotten to smile. But when Indira, the baby elephant came, it was so comic and friendly that they had to smile and laugh at it. The tension was broken. This may have been a poetic way of expressing things. But I think there was some element of truth in it. Since then progressively that change has continued and now the Japanese are certainly a people who laugh and are prepared to enjoy themselves. While externally many of them have taken to American ways, I do not think that represents any internal turning towards the American way of thinking.

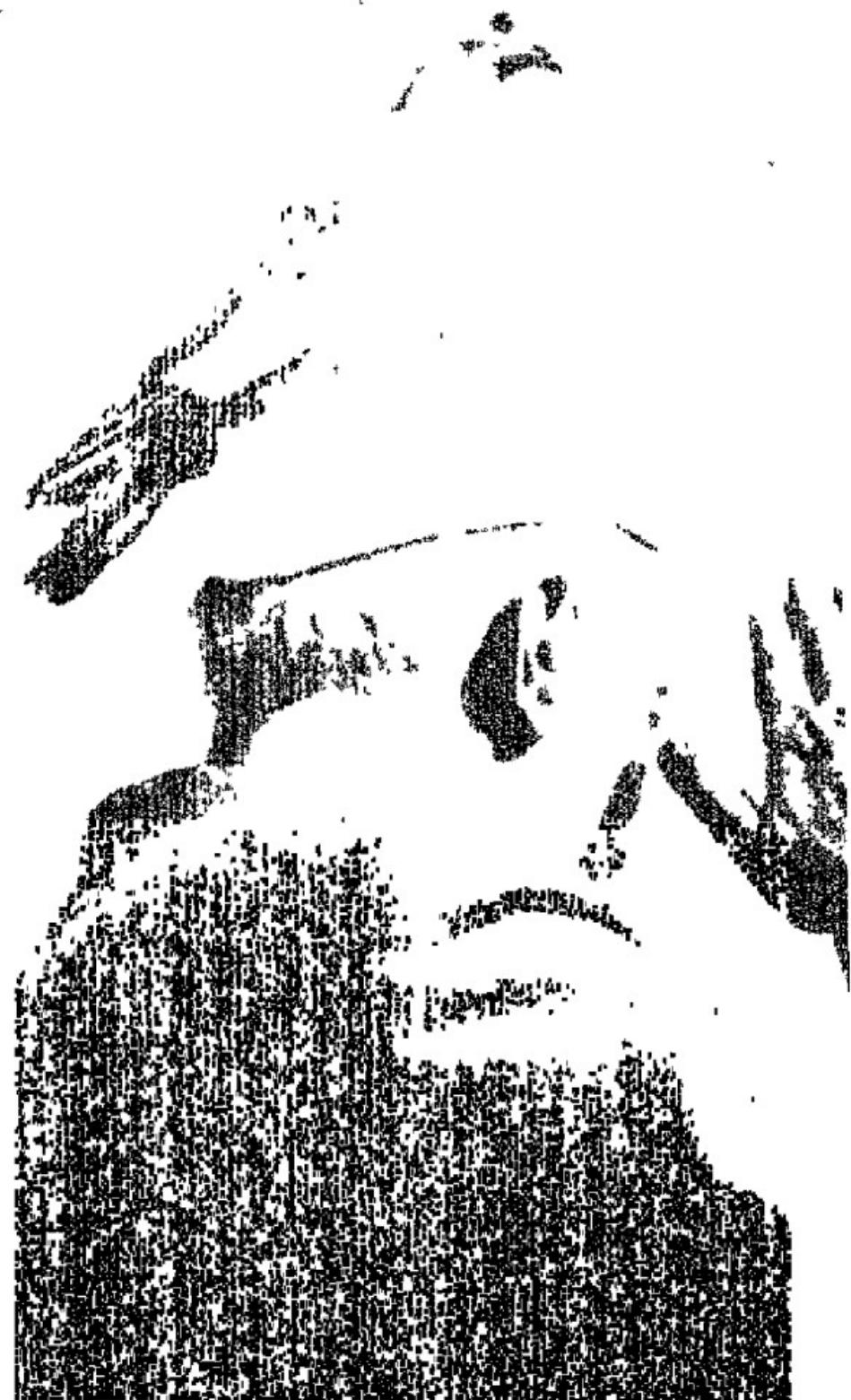


inauguration of the atomic reactor 'Apsara',  
Trombay, 20 January 1957





Atom Bomb Memorial Cenotaph, Hiroshima,  
9 October 1957



Children's Day, New Delhi, 14 November

More and more people now think of Japan being essentially a part of Asia and look towards Asia, not in the old way but in a new way of fellowship rather than domination. It is true, I suppose, that the industrialists and others want to spread their businesses and their export markets. But there is something deeper about it and it was this something that added to the welcome.

38 Also, of course, there was the fear of the nuclear explosions that are continuing. In this matter I think that the Japanese Government lags very much behind public opinion in Japan. Not that the Japanese Government is itself of opinion that it should go slow, but it is anxious not to offend in any way the United States in this matter by taking up too extreme an attitude. Sometimes in speeches Japanese statesmen expressed themselves strongly, but when it comes to a formal resolution or memorandum on this subject, they are more cautious as can be seen from their resolution in the United Nations on suspension of nuclear test explosions.<sup>3</sup> We discussed this matter at length during our talks. In the joint communique, it will be noticed that great stress is laid on the vital necessity of an immediate suspension of the nuclear tests, later further steps are envisaged.<sup>4</sup> The actual Japanese resolution in the U.N. falls far short of what we have said in our statement.

39 Seeing and meeting these very courteous and friendly

<sup>3</sup> The resolution submitted on 25 September called upon the Disarmament Committee to come to an initial agreement to ensure that (a) the manufacture of nuclear weapons was prohibited, (b) surprise attack prevented and (c) nuclear weapon tests suspended

<sup>4</sup> The communique signed on 13 October 1957 stated that "piling up of arms especially weapons of mass destruction by the major powers posed a grave danger to the peace of the world", and therefore the prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons "is urgent and imperative if the people of the world are to live in freedom from fear." It attributed the growth of arms to "lack of understanding and mutual confidence among the big Powers" and recalling the appeal of the Bandung Conference on 1<sup>st</sup> March agreed to advise their representatives in the United Nations to work for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests.

people, I often wondered how they could be so cruel as they were during the last great war or in their invasion of China and Korea previous to the war. We have had long tales of atrocities and even though these stories might be exaggerated, there can be little doubt that there is much substance in them. I found it difficult to reconcile the two pictures, and then incidentally thought of our own people I suppose that the Indians, by and large, are gentler than almost any people in the world. They dislike violence. Most of them will deliberately avoid treading on an ant or any other insect, and yet they are callous to animals. They may show reverence to the cow, but they ill-treat her, as they ill-treat other animals. Even more so, the picture came before me of the horrible occurrences and inhumanities committed by our own countrymen after the partition, even as these atrocities and inhumanities were committed on the other side of the border in Pakistan. How was it that these people who are essentially friendly and gentle, committed these inhumanities? I have no explanation except to say that all of us, individuals and peoples, have a double side of our nature, the gentle side and the brutish, the divine and the devilish. Circumstances bring out one aspect or the other. Civilization has not curbed sufficiently the devil in us. That devil may come out because of various reasons, but above all, was fear and hatred. And so it ill-becomes us to criticize others because we all are made of the same mixture of good and evil. We are apt to see the evil in others and to ignore the evil in ourselves. Charity and compassion are suppressed by outbursts of passionate fear and hatred. It has been my good fortune to see many peoples in many countries and to find them friendly and full of affection and goodwill. In some other circumstances, those very people might become brutish. In war this happens inevitably. In a war of extermination through nuclear weapons there will probably be an extremity of fear and hatred which will reduce humanity to the lowest level of degradation, apart from the destruction it will cause. It is this inner decay and degradation that is more fearful than any outside damage or injury.

40 There is one rather local matter to which I should like to refer. In Tokyo we purchased for our Embassy building a house and a plot of land of about one acre for Rs. 3,20,000. This is a good house with an attractive garden and I was astonished at the low price we paid for it. I was told that this was due to the fact that it was in a quarter which was not considered respectable. Last year we purchased some land in Tokyo for our Chancery. This is also about an acre and it has a small building in it too, not big enough for our purposes. The price was Rs. 11,30,000. The difference between the two prices is astonishing. It is partly due to land values having gone up considerably and partly to the situation being a better one and, what was considered, more respectable. For my part, I would prefer a little less respectability if I had to pay a much smaller price. It was our intention to set up a Chancery building over this newly purchased land. This has not been done yet because we have stopped building operations.

41. Meanwhile, our Chancery in Tokyo is located on the fifth floor of a huge office building of seven floors. We do not even occupy the whole of the fifth floor as some rooms are occupied by other offices. We are paying a monthly rent of Rs. 9,800 for this Chancery. This rent is likely to go up to over Rs. 11,000/- a month soon when air-conditioning is installed as it is being done. I was shocked at this exorbitant rent. I was told that for an expenditure of about rupees four lakhs we could put up a Chancery building over our newly purchased land and thus save this heavy rent which is likely to amount to rupees one and a half lakhs a year. That is, in about three years' time we will have paid more rent than the cost of the new building. I do hope that we shall be able to get rid of our very expensive Chancery quarters in Tokyo as soon as possible. Apart from other reasons, situated as the present Chancery is, it is difficult to have security arrangements there.

42. This is a very long note I have dictated. It is not based on books and statistical material but on impressions and casual talks. It may not be accurate in some respects. But it

will at least give some idea of what I have carried away from Japan in the shape of pictures and impressions. The country is an attractive one and there can be no doubt that the people are a great people who have made good in peace as well as in war. Speaking to the Japanese statesmen, I pointed out that it was inevitable in the future that three countries in Asia would play an important part, namely, China, Japan and India. I was not thinking in terms of great powers or the like. If these three countries co-operated with each other it would be for the good of Asia and the world as well as of peace. If not, it will be bad for them and for Asia and the world. Naturally I spoke of the Chinese People's Republic and the obvious necessity of its being taken into the United Nations and have closer relations through trade and other ways being established with it. The Japanese realized this but were inhibited by their present position. There was much else that I discussed, but I need not go into that. So far as economic matters were concerned, although we discussed them, we left them for further consideration on the expert and official level. The Japanese Government thinks more of them than of political matters and obviously desires to develop close economic contacts with Asian countries which no doubt would mean the flow of Japanese goods and personnel to other countries.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
25 October, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

Soon after my return to India from Japan, Hong Kong and Rangoon,<sup>1</sup> I sent you a note on my impressions of Japan.<sup>2</sup> These impressions dealt with the normal life of the Japanese people. I did not discuss political or economic matters. I have always tried, whenever I go abroad, to get in tune with the people of that country, to be receptive to them and more especially to understand their good points. Perhaps because I try to be receptive, they are also to some extent receptive to what I say. I do not try to put across something to them or to be vain enough to imagine that I have some special message to give them. But I do tell them of what we think and what are the springs which move us.

2. You know from newspaper reports and perhaps other sources, that I received a great welcome in Japan. And yet, it is difficult for you to realize the depth and warm-hearted character of this welcome. It was something unique even in my experience and, I was told, that it was so also for the Japanese people. In fact, my visit turned out to be an intellectual and emotional experience to me as well as to the Japanese people. Why was this so?

3. Partly, I suppose, because I arrived at a psychological moment in so far as the Japanese people were concerned. To some extent, they had lost their own moorings and were in search for some new anchorage. The old pre War Japan in which they had grown up had been shattered by the defeat

in War. It is not perhaps true to say that this was wholly shattered because there is a great deal of continuity. At the same time, I think it is true that that old self-assurance had gone. Superficially, they had copied many Western, and especially American, ways. But at heart they remained, as ever, typical Japanese. No great race with long traditions can allow itself to be uprooted completely. But the shocks they had had, had been great, from the arrogance of victory to the depth of defeat and humiliation. Where had they gone wrong, they wondered, and were they following the right path now? It was true that Japan had made a remarkable industrial recovery. They had been helped in many ways in this and American dollars had flowed in. The fact remained that it was the Japanese people, by their labour and perseverance, that had succeeded in making good. Their vitality and determination were evident.

4 But they searched for something deeper than industrial success and it was perhaps some glimpse of other avenues which led them to lionize me for the moment. That had little to do with my individual self, perhaps not even much with India. For the moment, however, India and India's policy seemed to offer some hope and escape to their tortured minds. Vaguely this was connected with the Buddha, with Gandhi, and with our present policy of independence and non-alignment. They had not forgotten the bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the continuance of nuclear tests were a constant reminder of what might come in the future. I was told that the Japanese people were being haunted by an intolerable apprehension of a new war falling upon them and the world and of the immeasurable misery which this might bring forth. Was it possible that India's way might help somewhat in leading them or the world out of this impasse and drift to disaster?

5 It has been my good fortune to visit many countries of the East and the West, following varying and sometimes opposite policies. These countries sometimes were engaged in what is called "cold war". And yet, strangely enough, the welcome I had got from everyone of these countries was

warm and popular. Surely that had nothing to do with me, nor perhaps even with India as an entity. I could only imagine that this welcome was due to the fact that we expounded a policy which was basically right and which found an echo in the hearts of people everywhere. It was not merely a negative policy of non-alignment, but something much more positive and dynamic, something which might perhaps help in solving the problems of the world and for leading us to peace. There is a hunger of peace everywhere, and yet, so many countries constantly talk of war. It was this tragic and terrible dilemma that possessed people's minds

6 I spoke to the Japanese people, as I had spoken to others in Western countries, not merely of our present-day policy of non-alignment, but rather of the deep foundations dating back to the dawn of history, which had shaped India's thinking. I referred, of course, to Gandhiji. I spoke of the Buddha and of Ashoka's Edicts. In Japan, I mentioned the *Upanishads* as one of the foundations of India's thought. From all this, I tried to derive a certain basic continuity which has not broken even in the days of our fall and decay.

7 Thus, the message I ventured to give in all humility was not mine, nor was it merely of the present day. But, it was rather based on the wisdom of the ages of India as well as of other countries. It happened to be appropriate in today's setting of our tortured minds everywhere. Hence, the response of other minds, even though they might not have agreed to much that I said.

8. I have referred to the "cold war" above. If I may say so, the approach I endeavoured to make, was the very opposite to this. The "cold war" is based not only on hatred and violence, but also on a continuous denunciation, on picking out the faults of others and assuming virtue in oneself. I tried to reverse this process even where I differed radically from those that I addressed. I spoke of their virtues and their good points, and made reference to our own failings. Thus, what I said found a warm spot in the minds of those who heard me. I did not convert them and they did not convert me in any basic way but we influenced each other greatly. It struck me

how much more powerful was this approach, which was a feeble echo of what Gandhiji had taught us, how the approach of hatred led to an unceasing round of hatred, with no escape from it, how the opposite approach immediately led to relaxation and had a soothing influence.

9 I did not go to Japan, as I have not gone to any other country, to ask for anything except friendship and co-operation. I pointed out that, even though we differed in some matters, we agreed in many more, and if we co-operated in this larger field, the area of agreement would grow, and differences would gradually fade away. It would be foolish to imagine that the world's problems are solved merely by sweet platitudes. But, even these platitudes, if they are earnestly meant and appreciated as such, make the path easy for other approaches.

10 More and more, I have felt that the approach of conflict, whether it is of cold war or class-war or any other involving hostility and a desire to destroy or humiliate the other party, is a bad approach which can never solve a problem. This does not mean that we should ignore the realities of today, political or economic. There are national conflicts and economic conflicts among classes, there is class war and, in India, there are all kinds of other conflicts based on province, language, caste, etc. We cannot deal with these by wishful thinking, nor can we surrender any vital principle which we value, for the sake of gaining goodwill. A surrender of this kind does not gain goodwill or respect. We have to hold to our anchor and to our principles. But, doing so, our approach can be, and should be, as friendly and gentle as possible. Thus, we find entry into the minds of the others and gradually undermine opposition.

11 Unfortunately, we live in a world where the approach is totally different. We live in a country where a multitude of conflicts bear us down. Some people imagine that it is only through conflict that the right can triumph. It may be so. But the question is whether the conflict should be based on hatred and violence, or on an adherence to one's principles and at the same time always offering the hand of friendship.

12 We want a classless society, and we know that at present it is a class-ridden and caste-ridden society we have to deal with. We even carry about the signs and insignia of our castes, to distinguish ourselves from others. Many of us who talk about a classless society, are victims of the extreme spirit of caste which is something worse than a class; it is petrified class. These contradictions which face us at every turn, weaken our efforts because they indicate our own double-thinking on many of these subjects.

13 And so, I come to the conclusion that it is more important to adopt the right way, to pursue the right means than even to have the right objectives, important as that is. No method and no way which is bound up with the creation of hatred and conflict and which bases itself on violence, can ever yield right results, however good the motives, however good the objective. That I think should apply to our national and international policies as well as to our domestic, political and economic approaches. If it was once clear that our approach was going to be devoid of hatred and the spirit of conflict and discord and violence, then it does not matter very much what path we pursue. The errors we make, will be corrected.

14 When I think of the high mission that India is supposed to have, and then of what one finds in India today in the way of conflict over petty matters, caste and language, and the degeneration of our public life, I am a little disheartened. The gap between what we proclaim and what we do is terribly wide. But yet, the old spark remains in us somewhere and illuminates the darkness and gives us strength.

15. We have been facing great economic difficulties, questions of foreign exchange and internal resources. And the second Five Year Plan, which had been for us a beacon of hope is imperilled. We shall face these difficulties, of course, and I have no doubt we shall overcome them. The danger lies in the fact that, because of present-day difficulty, we may forget those basic principles which have guided us and given us strength. All the industrial growth that we work for will not be of much advantage if we lose our soul. It becomes

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12 We want a classless society, and we know that at present it is a class-ridden and caste-ridden society we have to deal with. We even carry about the signs and insignia of our castes, to distinguish ourselves from others. Many of us who talk about a classless society, are victims of the extreme spirit of caste which is something worse than a class; it is petrified class. These contradictions which face us at every turn, weaken our efforts because they indicate our own double-thinking on many of these subjects.

13 And so, I come to the conclusion that it is more important to adopt the right way, to pursue the right means, than even to have the right objectives, important as that is. No method and no way which is bound up with the creation of hatred and conflict and which bases itself on violence, can ever yield right results, however good the motives, however good the objective. That I think should apply to our national and international policies as well as to our domestic, political and economic approaches. If it was once clear that our approach was going to be devoid of hatred and the spirit of conflict and discord and violence, then it does not matter very much what path we pursue. The errors we make, will be corrected.

14 When I think of the high mission that India is supposed to have, and then of what one finds in India today in the way of conflict over petty matters, caste and language, and the degeneration of our public life, I am a little disheartened. The gap between what we proclaim and what we do is terribly wide. But yet, the old spark remains in us somewhere and illuminates the darkness and gives us strength.

15 We have been facing great economic difficulties, questions of foreign exchange and internal resources. And the second Five Year Plan, which had been for us a beacon of hope is imperilled. We shall face these difficulties, of course, and I have no doubt we shall overcome them. The danger lies in the fact that, because of present-day difficulty, we may forget those basic principles which have guided us and given us strength. All the industrial growth that we work for will not be of much advantage if we lose our soul. It becomes

necessary, therefore, in these present circumstances, to remember those basic qualities which we have valued in the past and which have been an anchor for us whenever storms have tossed our bark.

16 In addition to the difficulties which have absorbed our attention during the past many months, we have suddenly to face another play of an adverse fate. Even as we expected a good harvest and an abundant crop, drought descended upon large areas of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Chattisgarh, East U.P., and some other areas, drought which shrivels up and kills and which is far worse than the floods that sometimes overwhelm and destroy. Our trials are many. Lately there has been some rain, welcome rain even though it was much belated. No doubt, it will do some good, but it cannot bring back what the drought destroyed and we have to face this difficult situation with a stout heart.

17 Our Finance Minister has just completed his lengthy tour of the United States, of Canada, of the United Kingdom and of West Germany. He has tried hard to obtain assistance for us in the shape of loan or long credits to enable us to meet the demands that will pour in. I do not yet know what measure of success will attend his efforts. Probably there will be some success, though not as much as we would have liked. Whatever this may be, we shall have to carry on, and indeed we will carry on. We shall learn again the basic lesson that a country has to rely essentially on itself even though it might welcome foreign aid.

18 During the past six weeks or more, ever since the last session of Parliament, there has been some kind of a lull in many of our activities. Partly this was due to our Finance Minister's visit abroad and our waiting for his return to know what the position was, partly this was due to my absence from India. Now the time has come when we have to come to decisions about many important matters which await our consideration. These are not only individual matters, but they involve basic policies also. I earnestly trust that all of us, whether in the Central Government or the State Governments will not only face these problems in a

spirit of co-operation, but also with the firm desire to hold to our principles.

19. A new age and, indeed, a new world is gradually unrolling itself before our eyes. The tremendous advances of science and technology are far more revolutionary than so-called revolutions in the political and economic spheres. All our past thinking is out of date, even as all past methods of warfare are completely outmoded today. Yet, we think in the old way and try to solve the problems of tomorrow by the methods of the yesterday which are dead and gone. We shall have to think afresh not only in India, but in the rest of the world. Whether we shall do so or not, I do not know, for even these world shattering events in the domain of sciences have not produced an adequate impression on the minds of many people. We have the wretched language agitation in the Punjab,<sup>3</sup> we have caste riots in the Ramanathapuram district in South India,<sup>4</sup> we have threats of strikes and we have innumerable petty wrangles which have no significance in the world of today.

20. In the United Nations, there is fierce controversy over the Syrian issue<sup>5</sup> and the conflicts of Western Asia. I believe that the real danger of war is past. But we have been near it and we are not out of the woods. Logic and reason do not have much place left when fear and hatred obsess the minds of men. We have seen the full technique of cold war in action in Western Asia. It was out of the womb of the cold war that the present-day military alliances found birth; it was because of this that we had the tragedy of Hungary and the continuing horror of Algeria. Everything is governed by this background of the cold war.

3. A 'Save Hindi' agitation was started on 27 September 1957 by students in response to a call by the Punjab Vidyarthi Sabha to protest against the language policy of the Punjab Government.

4. See *ante*, p. 562.

5. On 16 October 1957, the Syrian Foreign Minister complained in the General Assembly of threats to the internal peace and security of Syria and the Soviet Union accused U.S.A. and Turkey of posing a military threat to Syria.

21. The Syrian development has shown, however, that the nationalism of the Arab countries is more powerful than the cold war or the Baghdad Pact. This Pact failed when it met the challenge of nationalism and countries like Iraq and Jordan ignored their military alliance under the Baghdad Pact and sympathized with Syrian nationalism in peril.

22. In the United Nations also, we are having the debate on Kashmir<sup>6</sup> in the Security Council. Our delegate, Shri Krishna Menon, has repeated our case with clarity and fullness.<sup>7</sup> But where minds are made up, and where the yardstick of judgement has nothing to do with the merits of the problem, these arguments do not convert. It is a matter of peculiar regret to me that the attitude taken up by the United Kingdom and the United States of America in regard to the Kashmir issue appears again to be totally unrelated to the facts of the case. I feel a little aggrieved because the promises often made to us privately are forgotten in public.

23. In Kashmir, trials<sup>8</sup> are going on in connection with the bomb explosions. These trials have already brought out how people in Pakistan have organized sabotage in Kashmir and have indulged in extensive bribery there.<sup>9</sup>

24. In Pakistan, as you know, a new Government<sup>10</sup> has been formed. We cannot expect any marked change of policy

6. On 9 and 10 October 1957.

7. Krishna Menon reiterated that the Kashmir issue was not open to arbitration, and no resolution would make India shift her stand on Kashmir because on the basis of her complaint of aggression against Pakistan, the Security Council should first ask Pakistan to vacate aggression.

8. Trials were being held in Kashmir of 16 persons arrested in connection with 38 bomb explosions which took place from 18 June 1957 in which 6 people were reported killed and 17 injured.

9. The approver in the Kashmir Sabotage Case disclosed that a chain of bomb blasts in the Valley were planned by Pakistan with the approval and support of the Kashmir Political Conference and the Plebiscite Front.

10. A coalition cabinet formed on 18 October 1957 consisted of six members from the Republican Party four (including the Prime Minister from the Muslim League and three from the Krishak Sramik Party

in regard to India from this Government. It may be, however, that the language of the new Prime Minister<sup>11</sup> might be a little more courteous than that of his predecessor, Mr. Suhrawardy.<sup>12</sup>

25. In the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the case of Portugal versus India<sup>13</sup> has been heard, or rather, India's preliminary objection has been stated with clarity by our Attorney-General and the other eminent counsel engaged. We cannot say what the decision on this preliminary issue will be even though we think that our case is a very good one.

26. Since I wrote to you last, one of our Governors, Shri A.J. John<sup>14</sup> of Madras, passed away suddenly. His death has been a great sorrow to us, for he was an able and modest person and a fine gentleman who had served his country in many ways.

27. The International Red Cross is having its sessions in Delhi next week.<sup>15</sup> Many eminent persons from all over the world have gathered in our capital city for this purpose. I would wish that something of their healing influence might be applied to men and women all over the world, so that our humanity might emerge from the horror of the cold war in which we live.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. I.I. Chundrigar (1897-1960). Elected to Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937; Minister of Commerce in Interim Government; Ambassador to Afghanistan, 1948; Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1957.

12. For b. fn. See Vol. 3, p. 533.

13. See *ante*. p. 563

14. (1893-1957). Lawyer; Speaker and later Finance Minister, Travancore State Assembly, 1948-51; Chief Minister, 1952-54; Governor of Madras 1956-57

15. The 19th session of the Conference was held from 28 to 30 October 1957

New Delhi  
1 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

While we are naturally full of our own problems in India, strange developments continue to take place in various parts of the world. You read about them in the daily newspapers, and there is no point in my giving a list of them. But it is necessary for us to try to appreciate the significance of many of these events in the outside world, because they affect us and appear to me, unconnected as they often are, still to form part of the big picture of the world today.

2 We live, if I may say so, in a haunted world. There is hardly a country which does not carry its ghost about with it. We in India have the ghost of Pakistan coming in the way of our normal activities. Behind that ghost, there lies the history not only of the past ten years of freedom, but also of the years that preceded it, with all the communal bitterness and hatred which resulted in the partition of India. Whether we consider today the Kashmir issue or Canal Waters or the large migrations from Eastern Pakistan to India, they all appear to be a continuation of that old communal conflict. Some people imagine that if the Kashmir issue was solved, all would be well between India and Pakistan, and other issues will automatically find solution. I do not think so, because the Kashmir issue itself is a part of that larger issue which has bedevilled our relations with Pakistan ever since partition and which itself arose out of previous developments. I do not mean to say that we have to upset partition. That is completely out of the question and most undesirable. But I see no real solution till that basic conflict in the minds of the people in Pakistan and India is resolved. We

had thought that this would resolve itself after partition, even though it might take some time. But the very basis of Pakistan is this communal conflict and hatred and violence. I do not suggest that we in India are free from this communal temper. But we have many other things to think about and many other problems to solve. In Pakistan, this major issue dominates everything else, and the Government of that country have practically no political or economic policy except of fear and hatred of India. Both their domestic policy and international policy derive from this fear and hatred.

3 We in India have a much firmer basis. In Pakistan, there has been instability, political and economic, and there is not even an attempt to find a way out. I do not know what the future will bring. But of one thing I am sure: that no superficial approach will solve our difficulties with Pakistan. In India, even though there are plenty of communal elements which want to create trouble with Pakistan, they are not dominant, and they can be, and have been, controlled. In Pakistan there is no such controlling element, and all the Governments that have existed there have based themselves on this anti-India policy, trying to divert the people's minds from other questions. Obviously, this cannot go on indefinitely, and crisis follows crisis. I hope that a time will come when the people of Pakistan will try to face the issues before them in a more reasonable manner.

4 We have the Kashmir debate again in the United Nations,<sup>1</sup> and it appears to follow the same futile course as before. Great Powers like the United States and the United Kingdom talk piously of goodwill and India and Pakistan making up their quarrel. But they ignore deliberately the cause of that quarrel and the consequences of it. And so, they do not find solutions. Sir Pierson Dixon,<sup>2</sup> the British

1. On 25 and 29 October 1957.

2. (1904-1965). British diplomat; Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 1947-50 and France 1960-65. Permanent Representative at the U.N. 1954-60 author of *The Glittering Horn* 1939 and *The Glittering Horn* 1958

delegate to the United Nations, said recently<sup>3</sup> that they had not accepted India's basic position about Pakistan's aggression or Kashmir's accession to India, and so the whole argument raised on behalf of India falls to the ground. I cannot understand how this approach can ever lead to any worthwhile result.

5 I have said that we appear to live in a haunted world surrounded by ghosts. In Europe the ghost of Hungary pursues Russia and the East European countries on the one side and the Western nations on the other. If we go back only a few years and remember the feeling of optimism that was aroused when the so-called summit meeting took place between the Heads of the Governments of the U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., and France<sup>4</sup> and compare this to the position today, we shall see how greatly things have changed. Disarmament, which is the paramount question today, finds itself in a bog and the cold war is as fierce as ever.

6 In the Soviet Union, soon after Stalin's death, great and basic changes began to come into evidence. We all rejoiced at that and the influence of the Soviet grew all over the world. The events in Hungary last year appeared to put a sudden stop to these progressive changes and a certain inner weakness of the Soviet system became evident. There could be no doubt that the Hungarian rising was a nationalist rising and that it had been brutally suppressed by Soviet forces. There can be no doubt that but for these foreign forces, the present Government in Hungary would not be able to carry on and some changes would become essential. Thus, the moral position of Russia was weakened and its weakness in some of the East European countries was

3. On 25 October, Dixon argued that the Security Council continued to attach great importance to demilitarization as it did in 1949. On India's basic stand that the Council must give its verdict on her complaint against Pakistan of having committed aggression on Kashmir and that she must be asked to vacate the territory occupied by her, Dixon said that he did not feel it would contribute to progress if the Council were to go over the ground again on the subject.

4 See *ante* p. 192.

demonstrated. In Poland it was not easy to set the clock back but difficulties continued. In Russia itself, there appeared to have been internal conflicts about policies bringing about repeated changes. The powerful forces at work from below, in favour of liberalization, could not be wholly checked because they were too widespread and too deep-rooted. The Russian people, after a long period of lack of expression, found their voice. That voice was not critical of the basic Soviet regime which they accepted. But it was critical of many things and more particularly of the lack of freedom of expression. The inner struggle resulted in what appeared to be a victory for the more progressive forces, and Molotov and company, representing the old rigid tradition were dismissed. Khrushchev became the dominant figure and he seemed to represent the popular urge for greater liberalization. Marshal Zhukov, probably the most popular man in the Soviet and more particularly a great hero in the Army, supported Khrushchev. But as we have seen recently, there was again an internal conflict and Zhukov has been demoted.<sup>5</sup> It is not yet quite clear why this happened or what the future of Zhukov is likely to be. But from such accounts as we had it would seem that the conflict was one of principle and not so much of personalities. The ghost of Hungary had led to an attempt at checking the process of liberalization. This led also to a proposal to go back to the old system of having political commissars in the Army and other Defence Services. Marshal Zhukov objected to this and would not agree to this reversion to an old practice. In the result Zhukov was pushed out.

7 All this indicates that in spite of the great progress made by the Soviet Union in scientific, technological and other spheres and its tremendous strength today, there is an inner weakness which comes up from time to time.

5 On 26 October 1957 Marshal Georgi Zhukov was replaced as Soviet Defence Minister by Marshal I. Mal'ky

8 Within a few days the Soviet Union will celebrate forty years of its existence.<sup>6</sup> These forty years have been remarkable in history and the progress made by the Soviet Union in many directions has also been remarkable. And yet, even now, there is a strange mixture of great progress and backwardness. We all know about the scientific and technological advance of the Soviet Union. But perhaps the most striking feature is the development of an educational system which is both extensive and modern. Thus the Soviet Union laid the foundations for progress and actually achieved scientific advances which have staggered the world. What is more, that very educational system brought out the suppressed seeds of doubt about many matters and the demand for liberalization and less rigidity. A widespread educational system and police rule go ill together. It is this conflict that is going on in the minds of the Soviet people today.

9 It is not the Soviet Union alone that has these internal conflicts. In the Communist countries of Eastern Europe there is the additional urge of nationalism which resents Soviet domination, even though it may not disapprove of the major premises of that system. In China there is also the same spirit of criticism and demand for more liberty of expression. A famous speech<sup>7</sup> by Mao Tse-tung about a hundred flowers and a hundred varieties of opinions suddenly let loose an avalanche of criticism, much to the surprise of the leaders. They have pulled back and to some extent gone back to the old rigidity. But whether in Russia or China, it is not possible really to go back.

10 In the countries of Western Europe their ghosts have different forms and shapes, but they are equally oppressive, if not more so. Fear is all-pervasive and the recent Soviet success in creating an artificial satellite has added to those fears. Feverish activities are taking place to encourage the men of science to rival or exceed Soviet accomplishments.

6 On 6 November 1957

7 See *ante* p. 490

Political policies based on military strength have failed to find any solution. In Syria it is obvious that the policy of the United States has not been successful and a painful reappraisal of these policies is being made. The United Kingdom, burdened with its own economic troubles, tries bravely to play the part of a great nuclear power<sup>8</sup> and even France wants to join this select group.

11 The state of France today is most extraordinary.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, France has made tremendous progress industrially during the past few years. Production is at its highest and yet the economic situation is at its lowest. What is more, no Government has appeared or is likely to appear, which can deal with this situation. The ghost of Algeria overshadows everything. In France today it is said that the crisis is not merely governmental but a *crise de régime*, that is, a crisis of the regime itself. Many people in France and outside fear that the outcome of this type of crisis may well put an end to the great democratic traditions of France and lead to an authoritarian regime, probably of the fascist type. Any such development in France is bound to have powerful repercussions all over Europe and indeed the world.

12 And so, I can refer to other countries also with their internal troubles and political crises and behind all these a deeper trouble which can only be termed as the crisis of the spirit. Is all this due to the imbalance caused by prodigious scientific and technological progress and the mind of man and his social conditions not keeping pace with it? Is there some fundamental moral lack in the world today? I ventured to say some weeks ago that we shall have to find the solution of these problems in some other way by an incursion into the

8. Britain exploded a nuclear warhead at Maralingo, South Australia on 9 October 1957. The warhead, was the third and final one in a series of atomic explosions.

9. The French Government resigned on 30 September on the issue of a Bill through which certain constitutional changes in Algeria were to be introduced. A new Government headed by Félix Gaillard could be formed only on 29

fourth dimension, that of the spirit. However we may put this, the fact seems clear that the methods of solving these crises are not adequate and we shall have to find some new way which will rid us of these ghosts that shadow and frighten us. This is not a conflict between communism and anti-communism because on both sides one finds this deep malaise, although it takes different shapes. Can we in India help in finding a way out for ourselves or must we get entangled in this blind struggle which leads nowhere?

13 We have called our international policy one of non-alignment, and we have laid down the Five Principles or the *Panchsheel*. That is some attempt, even though it might be rather a negative one, to disentangle ourselves from these world conflicts and try to think on new lines. But the approach has to be a much more positive one. Are we capable of that? Looking round at the Indian scene, one is not impressed and one sees the pettiest of conflicts based on narrow-mindedness and rigidity of outlook. There is certainly a powerful idealism in the Indian people and we express it in resounding words. But, our actions or, indeed, our thinking does not fall in line with that idealism. Here, as elsewhere, there is this conflict of the spirit.

14 These are basic problems. But, for the present, we have to deal with our immediate difficulties. There is the question of food and a perverse fate has again destroyed all our hopes of a good harvest and created conditions of serious drought over vast areas in northern India as well as elsewhere. Kashmir, after the floods, has had the heaviest fall of snow it has ever known in the month of October. This has destroyed such of the crops or fruit as remained. We are being compelled to import more food from abroad in spite of the additional burden that this will result in. But, even if we are prepared to pay the price for it, we cannot get much more rice from abroad, because it is simply not available. We have, therefore, to husband our food resources and, more particularly, rice so that we can make the best use of what we have. I think that the wheat-eating areas in India should, for the time being give up the use of rice leaving this for those

whose main article of diet is rice. We must avoid all wastage of food in weddings, in parties and the like. The situation is a difficult one, but it is by no means such that we cannot deal with adequately with an effort. There is no reason why we should have cold feet and lose our nerve. That does no good. While, therefore, we should do our utmost to face this situation, we should not spread a feeling of pessimism among our people. But, we shall have gradually to try to change some of the food habits.

15 Our Finance Minister, on his return, has reported about his mission. His visit to various countries was in some ways very successful, and all credit is due to him for this. The actual results for the time being are not remarkable, though some relief has been obtained. It may be that further relief will come in the course of the next few months. But we have to realize that mere dependence on relief from outside will not help and might well produce a feeling of weakness in us which will be bad for our future. We have ultimately to depend upon ourselves, and the first thing is to have adequate food production. It is not possible to lay too much stress on this aspect of our economic problem, for all our progress depends upon it. We must always remember that our food production per acre is terribly low and can be increased greatly. We have to increase it without demanding further heavy expenditure which we cannot afford. The community development schemes are now especially responsible for this work of food production. In this matter, the relevance of Vinobaji's movement becomes even more evident. If each village and each family could undertake a certain target of production which will meet its own needs and have a surplus, then the total production will increase greatly. I hope to write to you separately about the Gramdan movement and the necessity of co-ordinating it, insofar as possible, with our community development schemes.

16. We have paid a great deal of attention to huge schemes of development in a number of river valleys and for industries like iron and steel fertilizers etc. These were essential. At the same time I feel more and more that we

should concentrate in future on small schemes spread out all over the country. This fact impressed itself upon me in Japan. The economics of big production are obvious, but there are many other factors to be taken into consideration, apart from our resources. There is the question of transport, and there is the question of more or less even progress in various parts of India. For the future, we are not thinking in terms of huge river valley schemes, but rather of small projects. In the same way, I think that we should think more in terms of smaller industrial plants spread out all over the country.

17. At present, there is not much choice about this, as our main concern is to carry out the hard core of the second Five Year Plan. Even that is not easy. But, anyhow, we can hardly add to that. But, it is important to remember that in thinking of our present difficulties, we do not forget the future. Planning means thinking of the future, and the future is not limited to a Five Year Plan, but goes beyond it. Our Five Year Plan is really the base for the succeeding ones. It would be a tragedy if we forgot this and did not think of our third and fourth Plans from now onwards and prepare for them insofar as we can.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
20 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

I am writing to you rather a special letter. This is not my normal fortnightly. I wish to draw your particular attention to a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee<sup>1</sup> recently in regard to the food situation<sup>2</sup> and the steps to be taken to meet it. I am referring to the Working Committee resolution because it has indicated in a concise form various steps which should be taken in this matter. We have to deal with this food situation with clarity and yet with tact. We have to impress upon our people that the situation is a serious one requiring special steps and extraordinary measures. At the same time, we have to take care that there is nothing in the nature of panic. Sometimes, even an incautious statement leads to prices going up. This has obviously to be avoided.

2 The position broadly is, as stated by our Food Minister,<sup>3</sup> that we have fairly considerable stocks at present, amounting to about a million tons of foodgrains. We expect more to

\* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 The Committee met on 16 and 17 November 1957.

2 The resolution passed on 17 November called upon the nation to undertake a short-term food programme so that the period of crisis "might be passed over." The programme envisaged top priority to the production of crops such as maize, fixation of short-term production targets for each village and wherever possible each family; avoidance of wastage; increased production and consumption of vegetables, fish, potatoes and bananas and restricted consumption of rice in wheat-con-

3 Ajit Prasad Jain

come in. But, our present expectations are not likely to carry us beyond April next. The Rabi crop will not help much. Therefore, unless some additional imports come in considerable quantity or we make some very special efforts in the country, both to increase production of some kind of foodstuffs and to avoid waste and extravagance, we shall have to face a very difficult situation from May onwards till October when the next harvest is due. Obviously we cannot wait till May to take some special steps. We have not only to prepare the ground, but take these steps in the near future.

3. You will remember that when the second Five Year Plan was in a draft stage, it was suggested there that we should aim at an increase of ten million tons of foodgrains in the course of this five-year period. When this was discussed at the National Development Council and otherwise, we decided to increase this target to 15.5 million tons by 1960-61. This was not done in an *ad hoc* way, but after the fullest consultation with State Governments in September-October, 1956. The Planning Commission had in view a forty per cent increase. However, after all these detailed discussions with representatives of State Governments, it was decided by the Planning Commission to aim at a minimum of twentyfour per cent increase in foodgrains during this period. This amounted to 15.5 million tons. The Planning Commission gave an assurance to the States that the funds needed for achieving these targets would be provided in the annual plans. In November 1956, a press communique was issued by the Planning Commission, with the concurrence of the Food and Agriculture Ministry, indicating the results of these decisions. These results were also placed before the National Development Council and approved by that body in December 1956. In the annual plans for 1956-57 and 1957-58, adequate provision was made for schemes for achieving these targets. In most of the States, the amounts provided have not been fully utilized.

4. I am giving this past history because of the recent Report

of the Asoka Mehta<sup>4</sup> Committee.<sup>5</sup> In Chapter V of this Report, the following statement is made by the Committee:

Most of the State Governments told us that not more than sixty per cent of the revised targets under the Second Plan will actually be achieved. We, therefore, feel that the revised targets of additional foodgrains production are no longer realistic.

The Committee thereupon suggested a target of 10.3 million tons as against the fifteen million tons previously agreed to by the States. Later on, however, in the Report, the Committee says:

In fact, we believe that if full use is made of all our resources, it may still be possible to reach closer to the Plan target than the above estimate.

Thus, even the Asoka Mehta Committee felt that the Planning Commission's target of fifteen million tons could be achieved if full use was made of all our resources. If so, it is not clear why they should have thought that this was not realistic and that realism consisted in not expecting full use of our resources.

5. What disturbs me, however, is that the State Governments should have told the Committee within a few months of their accepting the targets, after full consultation with the Planning Commission, that they could only fulfil sixty per cent of the targets. You will appreciate that such changes and doubts in regard to a vital sector of the Plan within a few months, make planning very difficult. I really, do not understand this change in the attitude of some of the State Governments. I should like you to look into this matter.

4. (1911-1985). Founder-member of Congress Socialist Party, 1934-48; Member, Lok Sabha, 1954-70; Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, 1968-69; Minister of Planning, 1966, and of Planning, Petroleum and Chemicals and Social Welfare, 1967-68.

5. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee constituted on 25 June presented a report to Parliament on 19 November 1957 in which the need for price stabilization, control and progressive socialization of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and speedy implementation of land reforms

6. We have been repeating almost *ad nauseam* that agricultural production, and especially production of cereals, is the very basis and foundation of our plan and of our progress. For the last year at least, we have laid the greatest stress upon it. In Parliament, during the Planning Commission debate, this has been emphasized by many Members and on behalf of Government. The recent drought has made this matter of extreme importance. But, even apart from the drought, it is clear that our future depends largely on food production. How, then, can we treat this matter so lightly and change our opinions and estimates within a few months?

7. The fifteen million ton target was not, I repeat, fixed on an *ad hoc* basis, without full calculation. Is it that we do not fully realize the extreme urgency of this matter, and imagine that it is difficult to make a big effort? That is a depressing conclusion to arrive at.

8. I am quite convinced that this extreme effort is essential and that we cannot aim at anything lower than fifteen million tons, and that this can be done if we try hard enough. Are we going to try hard enough or are we to sit supinely and wait for things to happen?

9. I have drawn your attention to the Working Committee resolution which you must have seen. In this, both the short-term and the long-term aspects have been considered. In the long-term aspect, attention is drawn to the progressive spread of what might be called desert conditions in some parts of the country. The way rains come down precipitately now, due chiefly to lack of forests and trees, is a dangerous symptom. In fact, while we talk about planting trees and *Van Mahotsava*, actually we treat this rather casually and as some kind of an annual event. Our forests disappear, leading to disastrous results. We must have an extensive and clearly defined plan of afforestation on a large scale.

10. In some parts of the country, more especially the Punjab, we suffer from water-logging. Again, it appears that we wait for some major schemes to deal with this dangerous development. Sure y this is not good enough. A great deal

re by small schemes or in a small way. Everything ade to depend on large sums of money as grants ewhere. The local area asks for a grant from the ernment; the State Government looks for credits or other countries. This is not the right approach, and nd on everybody but ourselves, we shall sink more in this morass.

In the short-term, it is essential that:

All waste of foodstuffs must be avoided. Restaurants, hotels and like institutions must be asked to avoid waste, more particularly in regard to foodgrains. We must give up feasts and banquets. We must limit people invited to functions where meals are served. In fact, we should do all this on an austerity scale.

The consumption of rice should be limited everywhere, and, to some extent, replaced by wheat or other grains. In the wheat-eating areas, more particularly, rice should be strictly limited, so that it may be available in other parts of India. It should be remembered that it is very difficult to get rice from abroad. There is scarcity of it the world over. We hope to get some from Burma, but that will not be much. Wheat, at least, we can get, though every import is a heavy burden on us.

Organized attempts should be made to introduce substitute foods and to encourage a balanced diet, even though this involves change in the pattern of food consumption. It has often been stated that the present food habits in the country are not conducive to health, and recognized authorities in medicine and nutrition are of opinion that even from this point of view there should be a change in favour of a more balanced diet. Production and consumption of vegetables should be increased.

More fish should be produced and consumed by those who have no objection to such diet.

- (5) Production of short-term crops should be taken up systematically and immediately. This will depend on the area as to what crops can be grown there. In some places, maize or some of the coarser grains can be cultivated. Potatoes and bananas should be encouraged. For these short-term crops, *kutchha* wells should be sunk to supply water, wherever this is feasible. *Kutchha* water channels can also be made.
- (6) Every available small piece of land should be used for growing some foodstuff. More particularly, this should be done near villages. It is possible to make even *usar* or saline land cultivable with a little treatment.
- (7) Relief works should be specially related to agricultural production. Small schemes should be encouraged and village panchayats should be put in charge of these schemes. The community development blocks should particularly interest themselves in these small schemes. Doles must be avoided except in the case of the infirm. Every attempt should thus be made to fill the deficit by short-term production. It should be realized that the present crisis can only be met by the fullest coordination between official and non-official agencies. Targets should be set for the short-term as well as long-term production, and each village, and wherever possible, each family should be set a target.

2. It has sometimes been said that the Agricultural Departments of State Governments are considered not too important. This is obviously not right. They have to deal with the most important sector of our economy. They should therefore, be activated and take up their work as one of top priority and extreme national urgency.

3. I have repeated here some of the suggestions that have been made. No doubt others will suggest themselves to you

20 November 1957

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The point is that all of us should realize the vital necessity of attacking this food position from all fronts and not wait for some miracle to happen from the Centre or from overseas. Our attention must be diverted more and more to self-help.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
24 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,\*

Four days ago, I sent you a letter<sup>1</sup> chiefly devoted to the question of agricultural production. I am writing to you again on this subject. This itself will indicate to you how my mind is full of it and how I want your mind to be equally engrossed in it.

2. It is more than ten years now since Independence. These ten years have been years of hard work for all of us and, I think, of achievement. But still it is true that at the end of ten years or more, we are struggling with the food problem. It is also true that we have had numerous natural calamities to face.

3. Still, it is a painful thought that after ten years of independence, an agricultural country like India cannot feed itself. It would be wrong for us to blame the gods or the stars or floods and drought. We must recognize that there must be something lacking in our approach which has led to this relative lack of success. I know that our production has grown progressively, but it has not grown enough to meet the demand made upon it. The test is not some statistical one showing growth but of meeting all the food requirements of the country easily and even in times of flood or drought.

4. Whenever this question of additional food production is raised, the reply often is that this requires money. "Give us money and we shall show results" I do not think that is an adequate reply at all. But let us examine even this reply

5 The expenditure on agricultural production and minor irrigation during the first Five Year Plan was Rs. 18,115 lakhs. This works out at Rs. 3,623 lakhs per annum.

6 In the first year of the second Plan (1956-57) the allotment made for agricultural production was Rs. 1,513 lakhs and for minor irrigation Rs. 2,069 lakhs, totalling Rs. 3,582 lakhs. The revised estimate is Rs. 943 lakhs for agricultural production and Rs. 1,519 lakhs for minor irrigation, totalling Rs. 2,462 lakhs. The revised estimate is thus, as you will see Rs. 1,120 lakhs less than the original estimate. In other words, the amount provided for agricultural production and minor irrigation has not been spent and has had to be reduced very considerably. It is quite possible that even the revised estimate may not be reached in expenditure.

7 If this is so, then surely the question is not of providing more money but of knowing how to spend profitably. Apparently, we are not in a position to spend even the money that is provided.

8 A second reason for our lack of success in making adequate progress in food production appears to be failure to utilize irrigation facilities that have already been provided.

9. Both these reasons indicate a lack of administrative efficiency in our States. This is not so much the fault of any individual but of the system under which we are working and our administration does not appear to be capable of facing present-day problems. They are too big for it or perhaps the broad and comprehensive outlook necessary to solve them has not yet been developed.

10 I feel also that we do not attach much importance to expertise or technical knowledge and experience of farming. Of course we employ technical officers but we consider them usually of a lesser breed than administrative officers. Technical departments like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry etc. are often headed by administrative officers and not by experts or specialists in those departments. We

have inherited this practice from the past. It is not a good practice and I doubt if it exists anywhere else. A Minister naturally is not supposed to be an expert. But if the head of a technical department also is not an expert, then we are likely to fail in coming to grips with the problem. We shall continue to think in terms of official memoranda and notes and circular letters and not have a real understanding of the good earth from which food comes. Nor will there be that human touch which is so essential in dealing with a human problem.

11 Food production is production by farmers and not by big machines or plants. The farmer is the human factor and unless he is approached and understood and enthused, results will not come. Therefore, the crux of the problem is approaching each village and each farmer; of putting the responsibility on the village panchayat or the village cooperative; of utilizing the trained village-level worker in all the various activities of the village.

12. We have built up a very fine organization—the community development movement, which has already spread to nearly half of rural India. It is true that it has not met with an equal measure of success everywhere. But the organization is there and is improving. There is no other organization which can deal with rural problems in an integrated way. Thus, it follows that it is only through the community development movement that we can adequately reach each village and each farmer's household and deal with them in regard to the core of the problem, that is, the increase of yield per acre in irrigated areas or where there is water available through adequate rainfall or otherwise. There are about 100 million acres of this type of cultivated land (total cultivated area is about 250 million acres in India). We have to concentrate on these 100 million acres and make them produce more per acre. The only way to do so is to reach the individual farmer and lay down a target for him. Although this should be one of the main efforts of the community development blocks and the village-level workers even this approach can only succeed through the

village panchayat and the village cooperative. The village-level worker should of course be intimately in touch with both the panchayat and the cooperative. That is one of his chief functions. Thus, we can produce enthusiasm in the village and integrate our activities there.

13 There is one other urgent need. That is village schools of the basic pattern. Schools of course are necessary anyhow, but now I am discussing it from the point of view of the farmer and more food production. But, above all, we must give up the office and bureaucratic approach and go down to mother earth. Also the problem must be tackled more and more by technicians who know something about agriculture and not by laymen.

14 I write to you with a sense of deep urgency which no doubt you share with me. It is not our mistakes that harm us much because we can recover from mistakes. It is ignorance and inertia that come in our way—ignorance of the scientific approach and even more so of the human approach, inertia which always sits heavily on a country if we work through routines and out-of-date methods. But even more so what is depressing are some of our social customs which come in our way. Today, I read in the newspapers that a mad monkey is creating havoc in Lucknow and has bitten already 200 persons or more. Nobody dare touch him and even the District Magistrate does not know what to do, because if he is killed the religious sentiments of some people might be offended. If we are to function in this way in this country, then there is not much good our talking about planning and progress. We have to be clear about these issues. I think it is little short of scandalous that such a question even should arise in the mind of a District Magistrate when a mad monkey is going about biting hundreds of people. We have to decide whether India is going to be a fit country for human-beings to live in or for monkeys or for other animals to take possession of.

15. I wrote to you about the Rajasthan desert in my last letter. One of the principal reasons for these desert conditions is the presence of goats which wander about with nomadic

tribes. A goat is more dangerous for crops or anything that grows in the field or garden than any other animal. If Rajasthan is to recover then we have to deal with this goat menace. Instead of goats, attempts may be made to keep sheep. But the real social problem is to settle the nomadic tribes with goat herds by giving them lands or otherwise put an end to these wandering groups of goats. There is going to be the new Rajasthan Canal which may offer many opportunities for settling this problem.

16. But, above all, I urge you to get your Agricultural Departments to become vital, energetic, dynamic and moving. Let them go down to the people. Let them take every help from the community development movement. Let them work through panchayats and cooperatives and let them deal with all these matters scientifically, speedily and effectively and not bureaucratically.

17. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know what steps you are taking to energize your Agricultural Departments.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
26 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I have written to you several times during the last few days and, perhaps, I have burdened you too much. I have written chiefly about the food situation and not my usual letter which is supposed to go every fortnight, though I am afraid it seldom does so.

2 While we have our own troubles which naturally fill our minds, the major issue for the world, and a very terrible issue, is that of war and peace. I do not mean that there is any danger of war in the near future. I do not think so. But the situation deteriorates, and we drift almost inevitably, like the last act in a Greek tragedy, to some horrible fate.

3 The immediate cause for this further deterioration is the reaction in many countries, and especially the United States, to the Russian earth satellites, the Sputniks.<sup>1</sup> Normally any great advance in human knowledge and man's power over the elements should have been welcomed. This would have opened out new and wonderful spheres of advance for

1 On 4 October, the Soviet Union successfully launched its first man-made earth satellite into outer space, and followed it by another on 3 November 1957 with a dog in it. The launch of the second satellite was described in U.S.A. as a "technological Pearl Harbour", and Eisenhower in his broadcast on 7 November feared that the U.S. would "fall behind" in defence "unless we now face up to certain pressing requirements and set out to meet them at once", and outlined a plan for developing missiles and atomic submarines. The British Government expressing profound shock at the new development, forwarded petitions of dog lovers and the Canine Defence League to protest against a dog being sent to space for experiments.

humanity. There has been, no doubt, in scientific and other circles, high appreciation of this remarkable event. But this, as many other things, is so closely associated with the cold war that this advance is looked upon more from the point of view of an evil power let loose upon the world. It is a tremendous power, which can be used for good or ill. The frightful consequences that might flow from its evil use serve as a deterrent, but a deterrent which is based merely on fear and hatred is not something one can rely upon. Fear and hatred can never lead to any good result. When the atmosphere is surcharged with these evil passions and their brood, governments may well be swept away into dangerous courses. Even if governments behave and restrain themselves, no one can guarantee that some foolish or mad person in authority in the armed forces might not commit some act which would step by step lead to catastrophe. How slender then is the thread on which peace depends, and if there is no peace, the very survival of the human race is threatened.

4. We have had for many years what is called the armaments race. This becomes more and more feverish and eats up a vast quantity of human resources. While hundreds of millions of people suffer hunger and the lack of primary necessities of life, the god of war grows fat. If there was an armaments race previously, this has now assumed colossal proportions, and almost everything else is dominated by it. Or, perhaps, it will be more correct to say that everything is dominated by fear. The major countries formulate their policy on the basis of fear of world war and imagine that they might be able to prevent that war or protect themselves by developing ever higher scientific techniques of destruction at an expenditure of money and resources and human energy which is almost limitless. Because of the fear of war, they concentrate on preparation for war and thus increase that very fear and that very danger.

5. Surely, it should be obvious that this is no way to avoid war or to save humanity from destruction. If the Soviet Union is supposed to be a little more advanced today in the science of destruction tomorrow the United States may gain

a slight lead. Some other countries might also catch up in this race for death. But whether Russia or America have a slight lead, it is well known that both countries today are in a position to destroy the other and will no doubt do so if war comes. They will not merely destroy each other, but might well spread universal death all over the world. Our passions have outpaced our reason and logic and if this atmosphere of bitter cold war continues, then the passions will grow worse and reason and logic, not to mention tolerance, will practically disappear.

6 And yet, all the peoples of the world and the great leaders on whom fate and circumstance, have cast overwhelming responsibility today, passionately desire peace or, at any rate, wish to avoid war. How can we reconcile this curious conflict in the world's mind? It cannot be reconciled by what is called building up strength or speaking from strength. We have passed the stage when either of these Great Powers can ignore or suppress the other. They have either to come to some kind of an agreement or hurl their thunderbolts at each other and destroy not only themselves but others in their sweep. We can only hope that wisdom will come to these great leaders before it is too late. Those countries which might be said to be watching these titanic conflicts from the wings cannot do much, and yet something can be done. The first thing to aim at is not to allow ourselves to be swept away by this flood of fear and hatred. In the desert of destructive passion, let there be at least some oasis of calm thinking and toleration. It does little good to go about cursing and condemning even though there might be justification for that. There is no other way than to recognize peaceful co-existence.

7 Where do other countries stand? There are the great military alliances, but even these seem to be cracking up under various strains. These alliances include in their scope some countries of Asia, but essentially they are dominated by America and Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa do not really count except sometimes as balancing factors. For the last two hundred years or more Europe dominated

world politics and was the centre of world power. The United States came in and took the leadership on the one side and Russia on the other. The old conflicts of Europe continued to dominate the scene and today, in spite of developments in Asia, European statesmen still continue to think that Europe is the pivot of the world. The facts of life are ignored.

8. There is a certain fear in Europe that owing to the compulsion of events, the Soviet Union and America might come to some terms practically dividing the world between them as spheres of influence and bypassing all other countries of Europe and of course Asia. Gradually it is beginning to be realized that Europe has ceased to be the centre of influence. As a result of this, the movement in favour of European Union has gathered some strength. It is imagined that this united Europe might preserve some balance between America and the U.S.S.R. Without some such balance, it is feared that the States of Europe have little chance of survival. In all this thinking in Europe, Asia hardly comes into the picture.

9. We have thus entered into a new phase of the cold war which is leading every country to an agonizing reappraisal of its policy. The old slogans are losing their force, even the military alliances appear to be cracking up, only the two giants remain. They face each other not so much on ideological grounds but as claimants for world power. They and other countries become ardent devotees at the shrine of science and technology, for it is recognized more than ever that it is this advance in science that gives power to destroy. Everywhere there is an ever greater demand for intensive scientific education. The fear that Russia has outstripped Europe and even America in scientific education grips the other great countries and, thinking only of possible war, they are frightened at the prospect. Education will, therefore, be more and more scientific but not in the spirit or temper of science. It will be concentrated on the development of power to be used, if necessary, for other purposes. There will be less and less of humanism and classical studies

and the proud culture built up through hundreds of years of civilized effort will decay. Thus, war may not come, but we shall suffer the agonies of war and the decay of civilization that humanity has built up through thousands of years of travail.

10. This is the prospect before us, and only some mighty upheaval in human thinking can change this drift. The world today faces greater danger than ever before, and the bottomless pit opens out before it.

11. I am writing to you about this subject so that we may realize more fully than perhaps many of us do, the context in which we live and thus see our own problems and the other problems of the world in some perspective.

12. I shall now come to our own problems. What troubles me is not the food situation, or the economic situation, but rather the temper of the Indian people. Are we going to be swept off by the anarchy of thought elsewhere, or can we hold our own in this matter at least? It is far more important to do this than merely to improve our economic or food situation, for if we fail in this primary need, then we fail utterly. I do not think that we shall fail, but we must make a conscious effort to succeed and not allow the disruptive tendencies to grow and overwhelm us. There are these tendencies visible in many spheres of our national life. There are also, of course, powerful tendencies to hold them in check and to maintain unity of our thought and action.

13. I have written to you a great deal about the food situation,<sup>2</sup> and our newspapers and, sometimes, our speeches are full of our difficulties. The difficulties are there, but let us not exaggerate them or become defeatist in our outlook. I see absolutely no reason for this. Basically, our economy is sound and, I believe, basically our thinking is sound. We have faced greater dangers in the past and overcome them, and we will overcome present dangers also.

14. Our industrial production is going up. The general

2. See in *the* items 74 and 75

index of industrial production (base 1951-100) was, in 1953, 105.6; in 1954 it was 112.9, in 1955 it was 122.1; in 1956 it was 133; in the first six months of 1957 this index has increased to 148.8. This might be considered a satisfactory rate of progress. It would probably have been more but for some difficulties that have come in our way because of foreign exchange situation. These difficulties will operate for some time in the future also, but we have seen that we have the capacity to progress, and we shall no doubt take full advantage of it as soon as present difficulties are removed.

15. So far as the food situation is concerned, the latest reports are somewhat better than the earlier ones. In Bihar, which has been one of the worst sufferers, the crop is expected to be about 65 per cent of the normal. In eastern Uttar Pradesh also, the loss is probably less than was thought. In Orissa, the crops were also a little better.

16. I have already drawn your attention to a number of aspects of the food problem. I am convinced that our primary problem now is one of administration and organization. I met yesterday an American<sup>3</sup> of great experience of agricultural conditions in India. He had been associated with the New Deal<sup>4</sup> in the United States by means of which President Roosevelt<sup>5</sup> had faced and overcome the great slump of the early thirties. He told me that he was convinced that there were great possibilities of progress in agricultural production in India. This can be seen from the great difference in different areas and different farms. Where

<sup>3</sup> Douglas Ensminger (b. 1910). Representative of Ford Foundation in India, 1951-70.

<sup>4</sup> To mitigate the suffering caused by the depression to the weaker sections of society, President Roosevelt launched a programme known as New Deal which envisaged boosting agricultural produce, regulation of business and prices and extension of social security benefits including employment opportunities.

<sup>5</sup> For b. In see Vol. 3, p. 43.

work has been done well. production has been twofold or threefold. There is no reason why we should not, given a proper administrative approach, reach this level in other areas. Unfortunately, many of us, including those dealing with agriculture, do not think this feasible and, therefore, do not even try hard enough.

17 I have just been reading the programme for agricultural development of China for the current year. The targets laid down there are high, and it should be remembered that even their existing production is much higher than that of India. From any logical approach, it is clear that we can increase our agricultural production very greatly indeed. Apart from the various aids to it, the basic fact remains that it is the administrative and organizational approach that is going to count. This does not merely mean at the top, although the top is always important, and I have laid stress repeatedly to you on energizing your Department of Agriculture. There is a widespread feeling, which I think is justified, that the State Agricultural Departments have got into a rut and have ceased to have any semblance of dynamism. The administrative aspect includes the approach to the individual farmer. Indeed, this is the most important aspect of all.

18 The question of land reforms comes up frequently, and I fear that our delay and uncertainty on this subject has come in the way of production. The relatively bigger farmers are afraid of the future, the small ones are equally uncertain about their future for different reasons. They are not sure if prices will hold, and so they tend not to put in their greatest effort. Everyone knows that good seeds are of high importance. Yet, I am told that many States have hardly done anything in this matter. There are so many other aspects which deserve urgent consideration. I would beg of you to shake up your Department of Agriculture and tell them that they must think hard and work hard and not trust to manna dropping from the heavens or from the Centre or from some foreign country.

19 The approach to the farmer is to facilitate his doing

better work, to produce a spirit of cooperation in him—this is the problem before us. In this, it is the community development movement that must play the leading part

20 I have had some reports of excellent results obtained by compost made of night-soil. Unfortunately, our social habits come in the way. And yet, this compost is not touched by hand. Fertilizers, we should certainly use, but more and more attention should be directed to compost and green manure.

21 From food for the body, let us turn to food for the mind. I am surprised often to see the ignorance of many of our graduates and even those who are successful in our competitive examinations in regard to the heritage of India. Many of them know little even about this great period of India's history which was dominated by Gandhiji and which led to India's freedom. I think this is most unfortunate. How can they serve India properly unless they know what India is and how independence gradually took shape? I do not know what kind of education is being given at present in our schools and colleges. I do hope that one of the essential subjects from the lowest forms upwards will be something dealing with this heritage of India, from the past right up to the present and including, more especially, Gandhiji and the struggle for our independence under his great leadership. That will not only be some kind of a historical account, but will lay stress on the high principles for which Gandhiji stood and the moral and ethical approach to our problems. I would indeed suggest that for our higher competitive examinations, there should be a compulsory paper on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi  
31 December, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I returned to Delhi this evening after a ten-day tour<sup>1</sup> which took me first to Santiniketan, where the Convocation<sup>2</sup> of the Viswa Bharati University was held, next to Calcutta for numerous engagements, Darjeeling for the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute,<sup>3</sup> Gangtok<sup>4</sup> in Sikkim, and Shillong and Gauhati.<sup>5</sup> Although I saw the local newspapers from time to time during my tour, it was difficult to keep in intimate touch with passing events, abroad and in India. It was not easy to have papers sent to me all over the place and, as a matter of fact, I asked that they should not be sent so that I might have some freedom from them for a while. I took enough material with me to keep me busy.

2. Now after my return I have to face an accumulation of work and to pick up old threads. I would have liked to write to you a little later after I had made myself better acquainted with recent developments. But I feel that I must write to you tonight on the eve of the New Year and to send you my greetings and all my good wishes.

3. I spent four days in Darjeeling, facing most of the time the magnificent face of Kanchenjunga. I also paid a visit before dawn to Tiger Hill nearby which gives a glimpse of Everest and from where I saw a very beautiful sunrise over

1. From 22 to 31 December 1957.

2. On 23 December 1957.

3. On 27 December 1957

4. On 28                    1957

5. On 29-30                ber 1957

the Himalayan peaks. This brief visit to the Himalayas, though full of engagements and work, had, as it always has, a soothing and invigorating effect upon me. There is something of permanence and calm serenity about these ice-covered peaks which helps in giving a better perspective to what is happening in the world. Day-to-day troubles, of which there is no lack, seem to be a little less important and one begins to think almost in terms of history. My principal reason for visiting Darjeeling was to open a new building for the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, which was started to commemorate Tenzing's<sup>6</sup> climb on Everest and to induce among our younger generation a love for mountaineering. The Institute has made fairly good progress during the last three years and a considerable number of young men have gone through courses of training. These are of two kinds, a junior course and an advanced one. After that comes real experience of climbing high mountain peaks. The Institute is a non-official organization, but it is aided very substantially by the Central Government and the West Bengal Government as well as a number of State Governments. I hope your State will take interest in this Institute and encourage young men to take this course which is bound to do them a great deal of good, whatever their future vocation might be.

4 I paid a brief visit to Gangtok in Sikkim, a lovely place, not far from the borders of Tibet. Indeed, the small State of Sikkim, nestling in the heart of the Himalayas, is very beautiful and there are few more attractive places in India for a visit and a trek. Gangtok is the main artery for our trade with Tibet. This trade had to pass through a high mountain pass, the Nathula, into Tibet and hundreds of mules and pack-ponies as well as porters carry consumer goods from India to Tibet and bring back chiefly wool. The distance is not great, but the journey is a difficult and expensive one. The Government of India have been making a road across these mountains to Nathula and beyond. The idea is that the

Chinese Government should make a road on the other side to connect with this, so that there might be a through road. We have made good progress with this road, though the work has been rather slow because of the very difficult terrain. A good part of the road has now been built on our side and it has involved an engineering feat of a high order. Probably we shall finish this road well within the next year. On the Chinese side less progress has been made and we are likely to reach the frontier before the Tibetan road is ready. The construction of this road will facilitate goods traffic.

5 Tibet gets most of her consumer goods still from India. Even jeeps and cars have gone there through India. Few people realize that, from the point of view of communications, Tibet is far more accessible from India than from China. Upto a few years ago, it was easier for a person travelling from Peking to Lhasa, to go via India and Sikkim than directly across the Gobi desert. Now communications have been improved as between China and Tibet and there is also some air traffic. Even so, the main trade route is still through India. A private air company offered to run an air service from India to Tibet, chiefly to carry goods. We have no objection to this, but thus far the Chinese Government have not agreed to it.

6 I visited Sikkim after five and a half years<sup>7</sup> and I was happy to find considerable signs of development and improvement. There were new roads and bridges and schools and various institutes and State farms. It had a bright and pleasing look. Sikkim, it should be remembered, is not part of India proper. It is what might be described as a protected State.<sup>8</sup> In fact it is the only protected State of India. The State is small and the population of the entire State is probably not more than five lakhs. This population consists of the original inhabitants, the Lepchas, and the Nepalese settled there and some Tibetans. The ruling family is Tibetan in origin but closely allied to the Lepchas. The

<sup>7</sup> He had earlier visited Sikkim from 27 to 29 April 1952

<sup>8</sup> See Vol 3 p 294

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8 See Vo 3 p 294

Lepchas are rather a fine-looking people with delicate features. But they do not seem to have much vitality and their rate of growth is very slow. The Nepalese on the other hand grow fast and already form the majority of the population which creates some problems. The general background of Sikkim is partly Tibetan and the Lamaist version of Buddhism prevails there. During recent years, a number of eminent Tibetan scholars have migrated to Sikkim. An Institute for Buddhist Research and Studies has recently been established there, with the help of the Government of India.

7 From Gangtok I went to Shillong. I was chiefly interested in finding out what the present position was in the new administrative unit of the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Division which began its career on the 1st of December. The situation in the Naga Hills appears to be on the whole favourable, but to some extent it is still obscure. There can be little doubt that the great majority of the Nagas approve of the steps that have been taken by our Government and want peace, rehabilitation and development. But the hard core of the hostiles are still uncertain of what they should do. They have had many meetings of their own where differing views have prevailed. On their part they have declared a two-months' armistice, this period ending about 20th of February. During the last two months, ever since the Kohima Convention,<sup>9</sup> there has been very little violence in these areas. Newspapers occasionally report some petty incident of violence but this has nothing to do with the main conflict. It is either caused by some old tribal feud or is just plain dacoity. The new set up that has been established in this new unit is working well and is increasing its contacts with the people there.

8 Another problem is that of the Autonomous Hill Districts in Assam. For the past year or two, there has been a claim for a separate Hill State there. We have not favoured

<sup>9</sup> See *ante* p 556

this, for any such separate State would be injurious. I think, both to the tribal people and to Assam proper. On the whole, I find that the tribal leaders were approaching this question more realistically and were not laying much stress on the idea of a separate State. I like these tribal people and we are anxious to help them in every way. Unfortunately it is difficult to find competent or trained persons among them to undertake responsibilities. A feeling against the Assam Government had grown there and a resentment at an attempt, as they thought, of assimilating them to Assamese ways. And yet the future of these areas is not only geographically but otherwise intimately connected with Assam. Even the common language in all these areas is some kind of Assamese.

9 These Autonomous Hill Districts of Assam have a special status given to them by our Constitution under the Sixth Schedule. It might be necessary to amend the Sixth Schedule somewhat to meet some of the wishes of these people. But it is clear to me that they should remain part of Assam State. As you know, there has been a change of Ministry in Assam.<sup>10</sup> This change has been on the whole welcomed by the tribal people. The future therefore offers hope of co-operation.

10 The general world situation continues to be very tense and full of danger. And yet, because of these dangerous possibilities, much hard thinking is going on everywhere in order to find a way out. This way out must necessarily be connected with some advance towards disarmament. For the present, the Disarmament Commission has ceased

<sup>10</sup> A new Ministry headed by B P Chaliha took office on 28 December after B R Medhi resigned on 20 December 1957

functioning<sup>11</sup> But, efforts are being made to find some new approach to this question. It is obvious that no progress in disarmament can be made without the co-operation of the two principal Powers, namely America and Russia.

11. The recent meeting of the Communist Powers in Moscow<sup>12</sup> and the statement that they issued, has not been very helpful from the larger world point of view. It has given rise to many suspicions, even though it contains some points which have been welcomed. The NATO Conference recently held,<sup>13</sup> it was feared, would increase world tensions. In this Conference, however, Norway and Denmark, supported to some extent by Canada, threw their weight in favour of moderation.<sup>14</sup>

11. The Five-Power Sub-Committee of the U.N. Disarmament Commission which met intermittently from 18 March 1957 at London suspended its talks indefinitely on 6 September 1957 when the differences in the viewpoints of the Western and the Soviet sides appeared irreconcilable. To break the deadlock, another attempt was made in the U.N. General Assembly during November but the Soviet Union refused to resume talks unless the membership of the Council was broadened.

12. The meeting of twelve Communist Parties in Moscow from 14 to 16 November affirming their faith in peaceful co-existence and greater cooperation between Communist countries described the Soviet Union as "first and mightiest socialist power"; denounced imperialism; and branded the United States as "centre of world reaction". While deprecating attempts at "revisionism" and "sectarianism" within the Communist parties, it called upon the Communist parties in non-Communist countries to work for Socialist revolution by peaceful means. The Yugoslav League of Communists refused to sign the declaration as "they did not agree with it."

13. The meeting of the Heads of Governments of NATO Powers held at Paris from 16 to 19 December 1957 declared that "forces arrayed against us are formidable, but not irresistible" and called upon free nations "to gear themselves against Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

14. For example Norway refused to have intermediate range missiles IRBM as suggested at the meeting

12. During the last few weeks, the language controversy has become more acute, more especially in Madras.<sup>15</sup> I must say that this development has distressed me. I quite understand the feeling of people in Madras or elsewhere in India against anything being done which puts them, from the linguistic point of view, at a disadvantage. But, what I have regretted is the aggressive manner in which views have been expressed. So far as I am concerned, I have refrained from expressing any views on this subject, to lay down certain principles which should govern a decision. These principles are: (1) that decisions can only be largely by consent and cannot be imposed by a majority over a minority, (2) that every language should be given full scope and, in our Services, nothing should be done which puts a person from a non-Hindi area at a disadvantage. So far as English is concerned, I am all in favour of the study of English being continued and even made more widespread. But I confess that I do not understand how we can lay down for the future that English should be our all-India language. It may continue as such for some time, and even later it will no doubt play an important part. But it seems to me rather humiliating for us to adopt a foreign language as the official all-India language. I say so even though my training and predilection would be in favour of English. In any event, I see no reason why we should hustle any decision or fix strict time-limits in a matter of this kind.

13. I have written to you often about the food situation. But there is one aspect of it which has recently come to my notice and which I should like to share with you. Some years ago, the Nutritional Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research indicated what a balanced diet

15. On 22 December, the Union Language Convention of South India adopted a resolution urging the Government of India to continue English as the official language and amend the Constitution accordingly. On 31 December and 1 January 1958, the Chief Ministers of Madras, Andhra and Mysore met at Mahabalipuram to discuss the discontinuation of the use of English as an official language after 1965 and described the Language Commission's decision as impractical.

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should be in India. According to this balanced diet, they were of the opinion that not more than 14 ozs. of cereals are necessary for an adult consumption unit per day even if we fix the daily requirement at 3,000 calories. The present figure of consumption of cereals in India is over 17 ozs. per capita per day. And yet, we complain of shortage of cereals. It is thus clear that our diet is completely unbalanced and unhealthy. What is required is to add non-cereal articles in order to balance it, and to reduce the consumption of cereals. If we were consuming 14 ozs. of cereals per capita today, we would have a large surplus left over instead of a deficit, which has to be made good by heavy imports from abroad.

14. This means that we should definitely and deliberately aim at the production of what are called subsidiary foods and encourage people to change their food habits accordingly.

15. It appears that between 1950-51 and 1956-57, the actual consumption per adult unit of cereals has gone up by a little over 3 ozs. per head, that is, from 14.6 ozs. to 17.8 ozs. Protective and subsidiary foods have sometimes actually gone down. This is neither good for the nation's health nor for its economy. Among the protective foods, of course, are milk, sugar, some types of vegetables, fruits, etc. For those who are prepared to eat them, fish and eggs are of great value.

16. There is another aspect of subsidiary foods, which has to be borne in mind. Sweet potatoes, bananas, *papaya* and tapioca are not only good in themselves, but an acre of land produces much more of them than any cereal. I have seen a detailed consideration of this problem which gives very revealing figures. I do not propose to go into these details here. But the result we arrive at is that we should encourage in every way the growth of these subsidiary foods especially in our rural areas. If a small part of the land was set aside for them, this would enable the village people to have a balanced diet and to have a stand-by in case of a bad harvest. This would also lessen the burden on transport. In Assam, and I have no doubt elsewhere too there are large quantities

of oranges, bananas, papayas and, in season, pineapples. There could be no better food than these, and yet, emphasis laid almost entirely on rice. Bananas can be grown almost anywhere in India. So also, probably sweet potatoes, etc.

... In Calcutta, I was much interested to see some successful experiments in the use of the ramie fibre. Ramie grows abundantly in some climates like that of Bengal, and the yield per acre is very good. This fibre is much stronger than the strongest vegetable fibre. It has a lustre similar to silk and blends easily with cotton and wool or other fibres. There is great scope for development in the use of this fibre for textiles. Japan has made remarkable progress in this respect.

18. Then, there is the sisal fibre, which can also be used for many purposes. Although this plant was introduced long ago in India, little attention has been paid to it, while world production of it has grown from fifty million pounds per year to over seven hundred and fifty million pounds. It is a hardy tropical plant, not easily attacked by pests or diseases. It can grow well on poor and eroded lands where other crops could not easily be grown. It does not even require regular cultivation. Thus, it can be produced on waste and eroded lands and even where rainfall is light. The West Bengal Government has started a one thousand acre sisal plantation and intend using the fibre for many cottage industries. They are using very simple machines copied from the Japanese pattern.

19. Early in the new year, we are having visits of eminent persons from abroad. The Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia is coming on January 3rd to Delhi.<sup>16</sup> He will visit some other parts of India also. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom<sup>17</sup> will reach Delhi on January 8th and spend four

16. William Siroky visited India from 3 to 16 January 1958.

17. Harold Macmillan visited India from 8 to 12 January 1958.

days here. He does not intend going to any other part of India. President Soekarno of Indonesia will be coming here for a few days<sup>18</sup> soon unofficially and for rest.

With all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

# Glossary

Ahimsa	non-violence
Ambar Charkha	spinning wheel with several spindles
Gramdan	voluntary donation of land to the village
Kaliyuga	the fourth and final era according to the Hindu mythology
Khudkasht	land cultivated by the landowner himself
Kukas	Namdhari sect of Sikhs
Kutcha road	unmetalled road
Kutcha wells	wells made of unbaked bricks
Maidan	open field
Pabla, dusra, tisra varg	first, second and third category of national awards for the year 1954
Panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct for peace and peaceful co-existence
Parinirvana	Buddha's attainment of immortality
Poornima	full moon day
Rabi	spring harvest
Saka era	introduced in 78 A.D. and revived by the Government of India from 22 March 1957
Shramdan	labour for a public cause
Thari	a large metal plate used for main meals

Usar

salty barren land

Van Mahotsava

a movement to develop  
forest wealth in India

Vaishakh

second month of the Hindu  
calendar

Vikram era

commenced forty six years  
prior to Christian era  
and named after King  
Vikramaditya of Ujjain

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